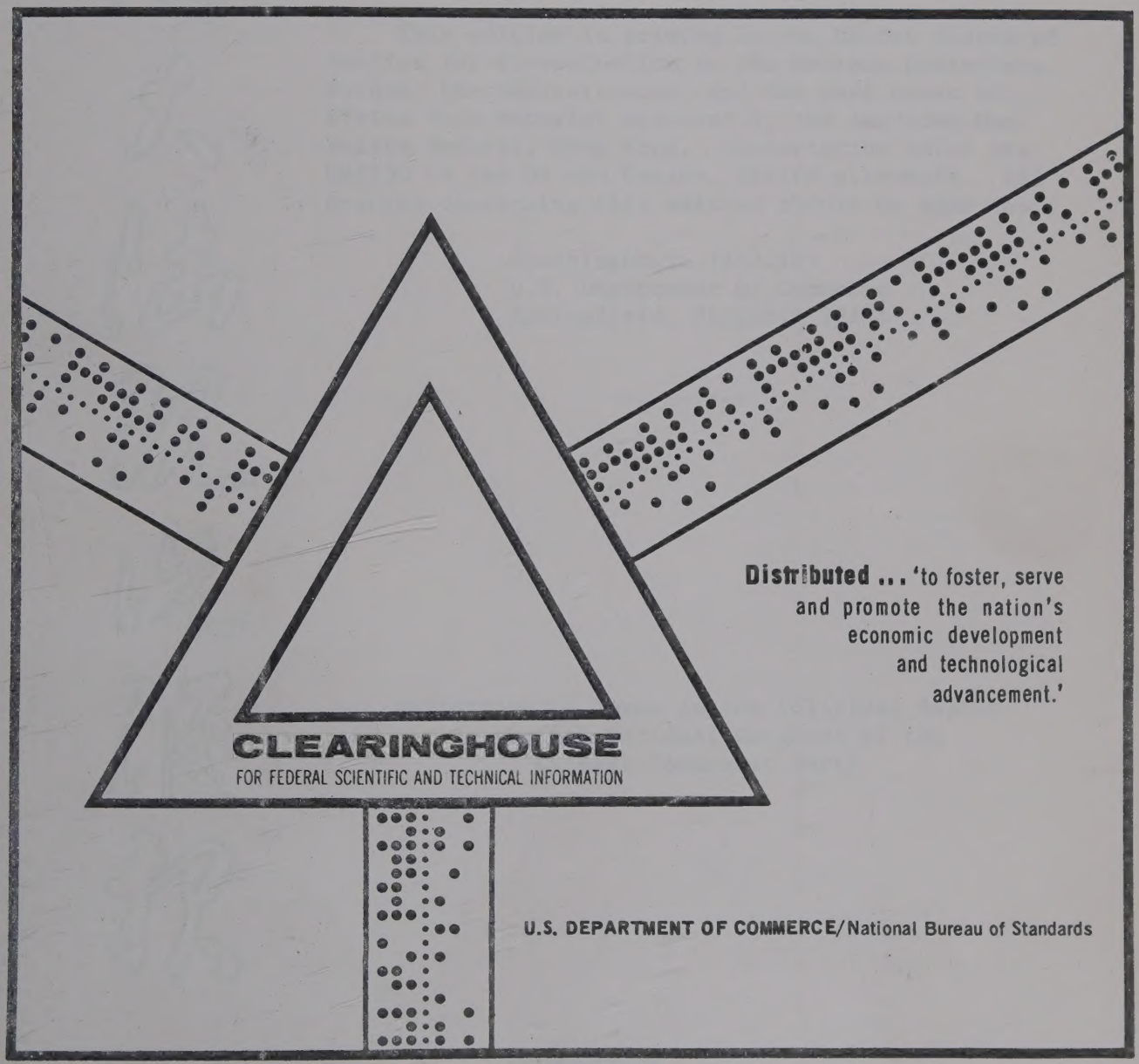
CURRENT BACKGROUND

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, China

20 April 1970

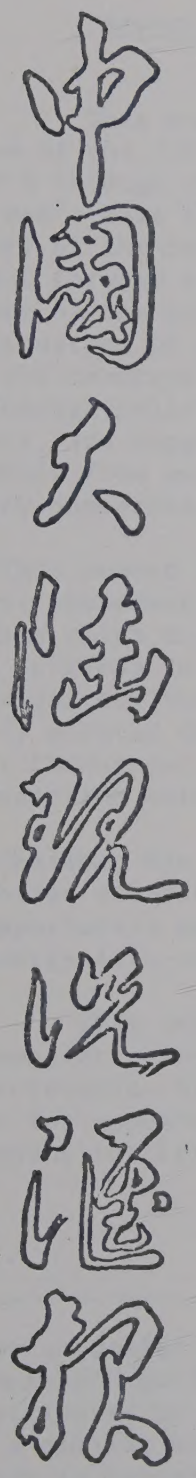
U. of ILL. LIBRARY
OCT - 7 1970
CHICAGO CIRCLE


CLEARINGHOUSE
FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
Distributed ... 'to foster, serve and promote the nation's economic development and technological advancement.'
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE/National Bureau of Standards

This document has been approved for public release and sale.

U. of ILL. LIBRARY
SEP - 7 1970
CHICAGO CIRCLE

CMP-CB-70-06



Current Background

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 904
April 20, 1970

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. Subscription rates are US$130 in the US and Canada, US$165 elsewhere. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

Clearinghouse (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

Definition of Terms in the Political Report to the 9th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

Reproduced by the
CLEARINGHOUSE
for Federal Scientific & Technical
Information Springfield Va. 22151

Definition of Terms in the Political Report to the 9th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party*

Report to the Second Plenum of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

This refers to the report delivered by Chairman Mao at the Second Plenum of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held on March 5 through 13, 1949, at Hsipo Village, P'ingshan hsien, Hopei province. This was a most important meeting convened on the eve of the nation-wide victory of the revolution of the Chinese people. In this report Chairman Mao put forward various policies for organizing the swift winning of the victory of the revolution throughout the country. He explained that under the situation of nation-wide victory, the work of the Party must be shifted from the countryside to the cities. He laid down the political, economic and foreign policies which the Party should adopt after the nation-wide victory, and mapped out the general task and the principal way for transforming China from an agricultural country into an industrial country and from the new democratic society into the socialist society.

This report laid special emphasis on analyzing the conditions of the various components of the economy of China at that time and the correct policies which the Party must adopt. It pointed out the necessary road for China to tread to bring socialist transformation into realization, and criticized the various "Left" and Right deviations on this question. It clearly pointed out that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat throughout the country, the principal contradiction at home is "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

Chairman Mao analyzed the new situation of the class struggle at home and abroad after the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, and opportunely warned the whole Party that the sugar-coated cannon-balls of the bourgeoisie would constitute the main danger to the proletariat.

This report was the great program for China to proceed from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, build and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build socialism, the sharpest ideological weapon for opposing revisionism and the "Left" and Right opportunist lines throughout the transition period.

*

---

* From a booklet entitled "Definition of Terms in the Documents of the '9th Congress'" published in August, 1969 by Chaoyang Publishing House and distributed by San-lien Bookstore, Hong Kong. The booklet is a reprint of a similar but unsourced document known to have been circulated for study in Kwangtung Province.--CB Ed.

Scientific Socialism

(科学社会主义)

Scientific socialism is the socialist theory founded by Marx and Engels, that is, the theory concerning class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and is an important component of Marxism. It is called scientific socialism because it is opposed to utopian socialism. Using the scientific method to study the law of development of society, it concludes that the outcome of the contradiction between productive forces and production relations will inevitably lead to the collapse of capitalism and that modern capitalism will inevitably lead to the socialist revolution. The motive force of this kind of change is the class struggle of the proletariat.

Marx said: "Long before me, the bourgeois historians had narrated the historical development of the class struggle, and the bourgeois economists also had analyzed economically the various classes. My new contributions lie in proving the following points: (1) The existence of classes is merely linked with certain historical stages in the development of production; (2) The class struggle necessarily must lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) Such dictatorship is nothing more than the transition from wiping out all classes to ushering in a classless society."

Marx's theory of proletarian dictatorship has drawn a clear dividing line between scientific socialism on the one hand and utopian socialism and all forms of phoney "socialism" on the other.

*

Utopian Socialism

(空想社会主义)

Utopian socialism was a doctrine that appeared in Europe early in the 19th century and was represented by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. These people criticized, denounced and cursed the irrationality of the capitalist society, and they dreamed of replacing the capitalist society with a classless social system. While dreaming for that kind of classless society, they did not educate people to rise in struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and to enforce proletarian dictatorship. Instead, they adopted the method of preaching and typical demonstration to persuade, admonish and influence the bourgeoisie to be "kind-hearted." They admonished the bourgeoisie by telling them that exploitation was immoral, and wanted to make the bourgeoisie give up exploitation of their own accord. They only regarded the proletariat as the oppressed masses deserving sympathy and support, but they failed to see that the proletariat is a great historical force that could translate the socialist ideology into reality with its own struggle. They held that the method to realize socialism was to educate mankind and develop science without resorting to class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. All this was utopianism, and consequently their doctrine was called utopian socialism. Only the scientific socialist theory of class

struggle and proletarian dictatorship founded by Marx and Engels can truly bring socialism into realization.

*

Second International

(第二国際)

The Second International was the international organization of the proletariat formed to succeed the First International (the International Federation of Workers was set up in 1864 and its disbandment was announced in 1876).

The Second International was formed in 1889 under the leadership of Engels. The activities of the Second International can mainly be divided into two periods. During the period from 1889 to 1895, although opportunism had arisen in the various political parties of the Second International, yet because of the Engels' firm struggle, the Second International upheld its own revolutionary stand and played a positive guiding role in unfolding the international proletarian revolutionary movement. After the death of Engels in 1895, the Second International was manipulated by the revisionist clique headed by Bernstein and Kautsky. They betrayed Marxism, opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat, dreaded revolution, and replaced the Marxist theory of "class struggle" with such fallacies as "the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism" and "class cooperation."

Only the Bolshevist Party led by Lenin firmly defended Marxism and waged an uncompromising struggle against the revisionists of the Second International. The focus of the struggle was the question of proletarian dictatorship.

After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the revisionists of the Second International thoroughly bared their renegade look by endorsing participation in the imperialist war. They openly sided with the bourgeoisie in their own countries and helped the bourgeoisie to attack the working people in other countries. The Second International thus ignominiously went bankrupt.

*

Bolshevik Party

(布尔塞维克党)

Pu-erh-se-wei-k'o is the [Chinese] transliteration of the Russian word "Bolshevik" (meaning majority). The Bolshevik Party is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Russia held in 1903 its Second Congress in London. At the time of discussing the program and organizational principles of the Party, a violent struggle

unfolded between the revolutionary faction led by Lenin and the opportunist faction headed by Martov. The focus of the dispute was that the Martov faction opposed the inclusion of proletarian dictatorship, the peasant question and the question of self-determination of nations in the Party program, and of the articles bearing on organization and discipline in the Party Constitution. At the time of electing the central organs of the Party, Lenin's supporters won the majority of votes and were for the first time called the Bolsheviks, while Martov and others who won the minority of votes began to be known as the Meng-shih-wei-k'o (transliteration of "Menshevik" [minority] in the Russian language). By 1912, at the 6th Congress held at Prague in Czechoslovakia, the Party resolved to expel the Menshevik opportunists from the Party, and the Bolsheviks formally became an independent Marxist political party. At the 7th Congress of the Party held in 1918, in accordance with the proposal of Lenin, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Russia (Bolshevik) was renamed the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik). In October 1952, the 19th Congress of the Party resolved not to retain the dual name of the Party, and the Party was then named the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

*

Old Revisionism

(老修正主义)

Revisionism was brought into being in the nineties of the 19th century by the opportunist factions among the social-democratic parties of the West. Revisionism gives verbal acknowledgement to Marxism but in practice it castrates the most essential revolutionary spirit of Marxism.

The earliest revisionists were Bernstein and Kautsky. They made every effort to oppose class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. They advertized the "theory of class reconciliation" and the "theory of class cooperation." They regarded the parliament as the sole form of struggle and rejected revolution by violence and smashing the state machinery of the bourgeoisie.

Modern revisionists Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like of the Soviet Union have inherited the mantle of Bernstein and Kautsky, betrayed Marxism-Leninism and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Bernstein and Kautsky are commonly called the old revisionists to distinguish them from the modern revisionists.

*

October Socialist Revolution

(十月社会主义革命)

The October Socialist Revolution was the Russian socialist revolution led by Lenin on November 7, 19717. It was called the October Revolution because it took place on October 25 according to the Russian calendar.

In the year 1917, the workers, peasants and soldiers had already overthrown the tsarist rule in the February (Russian calendar) revolution. However, taking advantage of the inadequate political experience of the broad masses at that time, the Social Revolutionary Party and the Mensheviks usurped the leadership of the revolution and formed the provisional government based on bourgeois dictatorship headed by Kerensky. This government ran counter to the universal demand of the worker-peasant masses for "peace, land and bread" by continuing to take part in the unjust war of the imperialists.

At the time, seeing that there was a possibility to transform the bourgeois democratic revolution into the proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin made every effort to agitate and propagate revolutionary theories among the workers, peasants and soldiers. On November 7 in the same year, he organized an armed uprising, and under the slogan of "Concentrate all powers in the Soviet" he overthrow the provisional government under Kerensky and established the Soviet regime, thus setting up the first socialist country in the whole world.

Appraising the October Revolution Chairman Mao said: "The October Revolution has changed the historical orientation of the whole world and carved a historical era for the whole world." "The October Revolution has opened up broad possibilities and the realistic road for the cause of liberation of the world people, and has established a new revolutionary front against world imperialism stretching from the proletariat of the West through the Russian revolution to the oppressed nations of the East." "In the final analysis, the road of the October Revolution is the common bright road of development for the whole mankind."

*

Force of Habit

(習惯的力量)

Force of habit refers to the many customs of the old era created over a long time in social life that reflect the consciousness of feudalism and capitalism. In the new society--society under the dictatorship of the proletariat--this force of habit gives rise to antagonism between non-proletarian ideas and proletarian ideas. This force of habit has objectively played the role of assisting the enemy.

Many old rules and regulations unsuitable for socialist construction and the socialist revolution and old things that restrict the thought of men and the development of productive forces often cannot be changed completely at a fast pace. The role played by force of habit is one of the reasons.

"Force of habit" is different from the excellent tradition of the nation.

Chairman Mao said: "The Chinese nation is not only a hard working nation well known to the world, but is at the same time a nation that cherishes freedom and is rich in revolutionary tradition." "We the Chinese nation have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood...."

*

Force of Small-Scale Production

(小生產的力量)

This refers to the capitalist spontaneous force of small-scale production in town and country.

In the economic sphere of the socialist society, at a time the system of collective ownership has not advanced to the system of ownership by the whole people and the economic vestiges of private ownership have not entirely disappeared, it is inevitable for the peasants to preserve certain inherent characteristics of the small producer. Under such circumstances, there is inevitably the capitalist spontaneous tendency, the soil for creating new rich peasants, and there will arise the polarization of the peasants.

*

New Bourgeoisie

(新的資產階級)

The new bourgeoisie refers to the working class and petty bourgeoisie, or the cadres and work personnel in Party and government organs in the socialist countries who have lost their proletarian stand and become degenerate elements due to the corruption of bourgeois ideas.

In the socialist society, the overthrown bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes are not reconciled to their doom and they still want to assert themselves tenaciously and carry out overt and covert struggles against the proletariat in all spheres. Because of the corrosion of all kinds of reactionary activities of the bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes at home and abroad, the existence of the capitalist spontaneous tendency of small-scale production in town and country and the influence of the force of habit of the old society, there will arise continuously in the Party and government organs, state-owned enterprises and cultural and

educational establishments new bourgeois elements who are corrupt, larcenous and degenerate. Some of them will be pulled over by the enemy and become agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Those degenerate elements who have usurped leading positions are especially dangerous to the revolution.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is made up of a handful of such new bourgeois elements. The handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road that have been exposed in China's great proletarian cultural revolution are also new bourgeois elements.

*

Soviet

(苏维埃)

Su-wei-ai is the [Chinese] transliteration of the Russian-language word. It means the conference of the representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers, and is the organizational form of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union is the supreme organ of state power and the state administration organ in the Soviet Union.

In the October Revolution of Russia led by Lenin in 1917, under the slogan of "concentrating all powers in the Soviet," the workers, peasants and soldiers staged an uprising, overthrew the provisional government under Kerensky and set up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the Soviet renegade clique usurped political power, the original nature of the "Soviet" has completely changed.

*

Peaceful Evolution

(和平演变)

"Peaceful evolution" refers to the process of changing the nature of political power and restoring capitalism in a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat not through the means of war but with the method of "peaceful evolution." Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like have long been people in authority taking the capitalist road hidden within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As soon as they came into power, they immediately translated the bourgeois "hope for restoration" into "action for restoration." By means of a "palace coup" and "peaceful" methods, they have caused the "evolution" of the first country under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world into a fascist country under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

*

Fascist Party and Fascism

(法西斯党·法西斯主义)

Fa-hsi-szu is the transliteration of fascism, a word evolved from the Latin word "fascis." The original meaning of the word is "the rod and the axe"--symbols of violence and authority.

In 1919 Mussolini of Italy initiated the nationalist movement. At first the organization was called the "Fascist Strugglers," and in November 1921 the Fascist Party was formally established. Most of its members were discharged soldiers. Italy was in a chaos at the time and the Fascist Party availed itself of the opportunity to seize political power. In 1922, Mussolini, the boss of the Fascist Party was appointed Prime Minister, and the influence of the Fascist Party gradually expanded. Because all the members of the Fascist Party wore black shirts, the party was also known as the Black Shirt Party. The emblem of the Fascist Party--also called "fasces," that is the symbol of power--is a bundle of rods and axe. Because the Fascist Party worshipped violence, it was also called the Fasces Party.

Fascism was a most reactionary form of dictatorship pushed politically by the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries for the enslavement and domination of the whole world. Fascism advocated absolute dictatorship at home and openly resorted to terrorism for the ruthless suppression of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. Abroad, it frenziedly carried out the policy of aggression and war. The establishment of fascism showed that the ruling bourgeoisie could no longer carry out its rule with the means of "democracy" and "freedom," and could only resort to terrorism and the policy of war for the sanguinary suppression of the discontent and reistance of the people at home and abroad in a vain attempt to uphold the rule of the monopoly capital clique.

Hitler was the most typical fascist.

Khrushchev, Kosygin, Brezhnev and their like are fascists wearing the "socialist" mask, and consequently they are called "social-fascists."

*

The General Line of the Party in the Transition Period

(党在过渡时期的总路线)

At the end of 1952, our great leader Chairman Mao put forward the general line of the transition period. "The transition period extends from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the basic completion of socialist transformation. The general line and general task of the Party in this transition period are to realize gradually over a fairly long period

the socialist industrialization of the country as well as the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state. This general line is the beacon that illuminates all kinds of work, and should any kind of work depart from it, the mistake of Right or "Left" deviation would be made."

The general line of the Party in the transition period has hit Liu Shao-ch'i's criminal plot to develop capitalism in China a hard blow in the head and has smashed his reactionary program for "consolidating the new order of new democracy."

*

Socialist Transformation

(社会主义改造)

This refers to the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce in the matter of ownership of means of production which China had basically accomplished in 1956.

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, there were four forms of ownership of means of production in China: (1) state ownership (state-run enterprises); (2) collective ownership (cooperatives); (3) individual ownership (individual peasants, handicraftsmen and other individual laborers); (4) capitalist ownership (capitalist industry and commerce).

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the basic conclusion of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China.

At the end of 1952 Chairman Mao put forward: "The transition period extends from the founding of the People's Republic of China to the basic completion of socialist transformation. The general line and general task of the Party in this transition period are to realize gradually over a fairly long period the socialist industrialization of the country as well as the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state."

In the socialist transformation of agriculture as a whole and individual handicrafts, the Party sought to organize them into practicing cooperation, wipe out the rich-peasant economy and the individual economy and establish the system of collective ownership. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce meant the introduction of joint public-private operation. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary plot was smashed and a great victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production was won in 1956.

*

Ownership of Means of Production

(生產資料所有制)

Means of production refers to the production tools needed by people for carrying out industrial and agricultural production (for example, all kinds of machines and tools for industrial production, plows, harrows, tractors, sowers and harvesters for agricultural production, vehicles and boats for communications and transportation) and the objects of labor (for example, land, mines, factories, raw material, etc.). The system of ownership means who should own such means of production and objects of labor. The form of ownership of means of production determines the production relations of a given society. For example, if machines, raw material and factories are owned by capitalists, the latter necessarily utilize such means of production to exploit and oppress the workers, and this is the production relations of capitalism. When such machines, raw material and factories are owned by the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the system of exploitation of man by man is wiped out, and this is the production relations of socialism.

*

Landlord-Comprador Class

(地主買办階级)

This refers to the feudal landlord class in the countryside and the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie in the service of foreign capitalists. The bureaucrat-comprador class represented by the four leading families of Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, Kung Hsiang-hsi and Ch'en Li-fu (also called the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie) worked in collusion with imperialism and the feudal landlords, and they ruthlessly oppressed and exploited the Chinese people and suppressed the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. They were the three big mountains that weighed down the Chinese people.

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, after a hard struggle, the Chinese people have liberated the whole of China, driven out the imperialist forces in China, confiscated the bureaucrat capital, carried out agrarian reform and completely overthrown the three big mountains that weighed down the Chinese people.

*

Ideology

(意識形態)

All things and phenomena of the objective world are reflected in the minds of people and they give rise to consciousness. Consciousness reflects the objective world in different forms. For example, the same

social life and natural phenomenon may be reflected by people through natural science and social science, through arts (for example, painting, literary works, drama, etc.), as well as through philosophy, religion and morality. Therefore, education, culture, science, art, philosophy, religion, etc., are different forms of consciousness and are also "ideology." Ideology is part and parcel of the superstructure.

The ideology of a given society is born on the economic base of that society. For the capitalist society, there is the ideology of the capitalist society, and for the socialist society, there is the ideology of the socialist society. In class society, ideology has its class character. Different classes have different kinds of ideology. Ideology may be influenced by the economic base.

Chairman Mao points out: "In China...the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class."

Vice Chairman Lin said: In energetically grasping ideology and the superstructure, in frenziedly exercising counterrevolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat and spreading on a large scale poisonous weeds in the various departments under their control, the Liu Shao-ch'i counter-revolutionary revisionist clique has but one objective, namely, to prepare public opinion for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. In order to overthrow them politically, we also must first wage an ideological struggle and smash their counterrevolutionary public opinion with revolutionary public opinion.

*

The Struggle Against Bourgeois Rightists

(反对資産階级右派的鬥爭)

The so-called bourgeois rightists were the bourgeois reactionaries opposed to communism, the people and socialism.

In the spring of 1957, in the name of "helping the Chinese Communist Party to carry out rectification," the bourgeois rightists launched a rabid attack against the Party. They audaciously attacked the various socialist systems and the various policies of the Party, and they especially attacked the proletarian dictatorship led by the Communist Party. They overtly clamored for substituting the leadership of the Communist Party with a "Political Planning Center," and they wanted the Communist Party "to step down" so that they might "exercise control by rotation." This attack by the bourgeois rightists against the Party was actually engineered at the time by big renegade, big traitor and big scab Liu Shao-ch'i hidden within the Communist Party.

The Jen-min Jih-pao published on June 8 in the same year an editorial entitled "What Is This?" thus sounding the bugle for launching a counter-attack against the bourgeois rightists. Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "It is either the east wind prevailing over the west wind or vice versa, and there is no room for compromise on the question of line." Led by Chairman Mao himself, the whole country launched the heroic struggle against the bourgeois rightists, repulsed the rabid attack of the latter, and won great victory in the anti-rightist struggle.

The struggle against the bourgeois rightists was a socialist revolution on the political front and the ideological front. The anti-rightist struggle and the rectification movement greatly heightened the political consciousness of the Chinese people and energetically brought about the forward development of the cause of building socialism.

*

The Lushan Conference

庐山会议

This refers to the 8th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee convened in August 1959 at Lushan, Kiangsi. At the Lushan Conference, P'eng Te-huai mustered a handful of anti-Party elements to launch a rabid attack against the Party and socialism. They viciously attacked the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune as well as our greatest leader Chairman Mao. The proletarian headquarters resolutely hit back at the attack of the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique. Chairman Mao delivered a most important speech at the meeting. His speech thoroughly criticized and repudiated the reactionary fallacies of P'eng Te-huai and others, pointing out that P'eng Te-huai's "letter of opinion" was the anti-Party program of Right opportunism. The activities conducted by this anti-Party clique during and before the Lushan Conference were purposeful, well prepared, well planned and well organized ones. Chairman Mao also profoundly pointed out: "This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, the continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two big antagonistic classes--the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--in the socialist revolution of the past decade."

The Lushan Conference was convened under a situation in which the socialist revolution underwent deep-going development in China and the class struggle at home and abroad was never before so violent. The greatest historical achievement of this conference was that it smashed the plot of the anti-Party clique headed by P'eng Te-huai to usurp leadership in the Party, and defended the general line of the Party, the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, the unity of the Party and the socialist cause of the Party and the people.

*

The P'eng Te-huai Anti-Party Clique

(彭德怀反党集团)

The P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique refers to the group comprising Huang K'o-ch'eng, Chang Wen-t'ien, Chou Hsiao-chou and a handful of anti-Party elements mustered by P'eng Te-huai, vanguard of the bourgeois headquarters. At the Lushan Conference (the 8th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee) convened in August 1959 by the Chinese Communist Party, this anti-Party clique launched a rabid attack against the general line of the Party as well as the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. This anti-Party clique maliciously attacked the general line as "'Left'-deviation adventurism," the great leap forward as "feverish" and the people's commune as "premature" and "making a mess of things." The members of this clique vilified the great mass movement of several hundred million people led by Chairman Mao as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." At this conference, Liu Shao-ch'i also flaunted the "anti-Left" banner to attack the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune. He also told P'eng Te-huai: "Rather than let you usurp leadership in the Party, it is better for me to do so."

By opposing Chairman Mao, the Party's general line of building socialism, the people's commune and the great leap forward, the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique was actually opposed to taking the socialist road in a vain attempt to restore capitalism in China.

It has now been found out that P'eng Te-huai and Huang K'o-ch'eng had long ago formed an anti-Party alliance with Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, that P'eng Te-huai was the actual leader of this alliance and that their general back-stage boss was renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i.

*

The General Line of Building Socialism

(社会主义建設総路线)

The general line of building socialism was advanced under the conditions that socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production in China had basically been accomplished, that great victories had been won in the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification movement of 1957 and that the people all over the country had whipped up a high tide in socialist construction. At the Chengtu Conference convened in March 1958 by the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out that the speed of construction in China was something in objective existence and that we should go all out and aim high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all things that could be carried out subjectively and objectively.

In May 1958, the Chinese Communist Party convened the Second Session of the "8th Party Congress." Chairman Mao issued the great call for toppling the old idols, emancipation of minds, and daring to think, to speak out and

to act. In accordance with Chairman Mao's suggestion, the conference formulated the general line of "building socialism by going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results."

The general line of building socialism was a creative Marxist-Leninist line advanced by the great leader Chairman Mao on the basis of summing up the experience of building socialism in China. It opened up a new road for building socialism.

*

The Socialist Education Movement

(社会主义教育运动)

The socialist education movement was a revolutionary movement that was heroically launched in 1963 throughout the country under the leadership of Chairman Mao. Because it was aimed at cleaning up politics, ideology, organization and the economy, it was also abbreviated as the "four cleanups" movement.

Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "This socialist education movement is a great revolutionary movement." "This struggle is one for the re-education of people and the reorganization of the revolutionary class ranks, a sharp tit-for-tat struggle against the rabid attacks of the capitalist and feudal forces and for suppressing their counterrevolutionary arrogance."

"The important point of this movement is to purge those people in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party." The nature of this socialist education movement was "a contradiction between socialism and capitalism."

*

"Left" in Form But Right in Essence

(形"左"实右)

"Left" in form but Right in essence means carrying out the erroneous policy of the Right with the appearance of the "Left." In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the class enemies, ever more isolated and in their death-bed struggle, often assumed the look of the ultra "Left" to hoodwink and mislead the masses, confuse the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy with the contradictions among the people and to enlarge the scope of attack so as to free themselves from complete isolation. Renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line had assumed both the shape of the ultra-Right and the shape of "Left" in form but Right in essence to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The erroneous ideology which is "Left" in form but Right in essence is also a reflection of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world outlook, an expression of petty-bourgeois vacillation in the struggle in line. During the great cultural revolution, some people often substituted policies with impressions and principles with feelings in the course of carrying out policies. They were "Left" in form but Right in essence. This kind of erroneous ideology is easily utilized by the class enemies and can easily cause confusion in the revolutionary ranks.

*

The Period of the First Revolutionary Civil War

(第一次国内革命战争时期)

This refers to the first great revolutionary war against imperialism and feudalism carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in 1924 through 1927.

During this period, the united front based on the cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was established under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The Party gave impetus and help to the reorganization of the Kuomintang. Backed by the revolutionary worker-peasant masses, the revolutionary base and revolutionary armed forces were established in Kwangtung for carrying out the Northern Expeditionary War and for the defeat of the Peiyang warlords who had ruled China for more than ten years. During this great revolution, the Chinese Communist Party carried out extensive revolutionary work, and developed the workers' movement, the youth movement and the peasant movement all over the country. The Party organization also grew and progressed and its members increased from 900 or more before the May 30 Movement to more than 57,900.

During this revolutionary period, because the leadership of the Party was in the grip of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chairman Mao's correct revolutionary line was not accepted. The Party abandoned its leadership over the united front, negated the importance of the peasants in the democratic revolution and adopted the policy of liquidation toward armed struggle. As a result, the Right wing of the Kuomintang headed by Chiang Kai-shek, instigated and helped by imperialism, rebelled against the revolution and engineered the "April 12" massacre in 1927. The revolution thus ended in failure.

*

Capitalist Roaders

(走资派)

Capitalist roaders are used for short for a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into the Party. Chairman Mao said: "The handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party are the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party."

Renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i recruited deserters and turncoats and gathered together a group of renegades, secret agents and capitalist roaders. Working in collusion, they formed an underground bourgeois headquarters to oppose the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. Liu Shao-ch'i was the general representative of the capitalist roaders.

*

The National Liberation War of Resistance Against Japan

(抗日民族解放战争)

The national liberation war of resistance against Japan covered a historical period extending from the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937 to the surrender of Japan on September 3, 1945. The national liberation war of resistance against Japan was an important component of the world war waged by the Chinese people against Germany, Japan and fascist Italy. Led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people, after a protracted and heroic struggle, finally defeated Japanese imperialism that attempted to bring about the downfall of China and annex Asia, and won ultimate victory in the war of resistance against Japan.

The struggle between the two lines threaded through the whole war of resistance against Japan. One was the line of waging an all-out war of resistance by the proletariat and the people of the whole country represented by the Chinese Communist Party. The other was the anti-communist, anti-people line of waging a passive war of resistance (actually capitulation and national betrayal) adopted by the big landlord-bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek.

During the national liberation war of resistance against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek was at all times passive toward the war of resistance but active toward opposing communism. From 1939 to June 1943, he engineered on three different occasions a surging tide against communism. Chairman Mao led the people of the whole country to repulse in good time every attack launched by Chiang Kai-shek. He checked the crisis of civil war and of capitulation, defeated the Japanese aggressors and laid down the foundation for the subsequent great nation-wide victory of the people's revolutionary war.

*

Sinister "Self-Cultivation"

(黑"修养")

The sinister "Self-Cultivation" is the scornful name for the sinister book "How To Be a Good Communist," a big poisonous weed carefully concocted by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i for opposing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "The betrayal of the proletarian dictatorship is the crux" of this sinister "Self-Cultivation." This book calls on the communists to depart from the great practice of the realistic, fiery national struggle and class struggle for idealistic "self-cultivation." It advocates by twists and turns bourgeois individualism and the slave mentality. Vice Chairman Lin said: "Actually, it wants the communists to 'cultivate' themselves as slaves falling on their knees to the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries."

In the past twenty years or more, whenever the Chinese revolution was at a critical juncture, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i cast forth this sinister "Self-Cultivation" to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the great revolutionary struggle led by the Party. The sinister "Self-Cultivation" had been released three times. At the time of the vigorous development of the war of resistance against Japan in July 1939, the sinister "Self-Cultivation" was first cast forth to become the book of capitulation for the destruction of the Party and the nation. On the eve of the liberation of the whole country in August 1949, the sinister "Self-Cultivation" formed the "theoretical" basis for developing capitalism in China. Around 1962 when evil winds sprang up everywhere at home and abroad, the sinister "Self-Cultivation" formed the declaration of capitalist counterrevolutionary restoration. The sinister "Self-Cultivation" was revised to some extent to meet counterrevolutionary needs on the last two occasions.

*

Idealism

(唯心主义)

Idealism is a kind of unscientific, decadent and reactionary philosophical theory.

Any philosophical thought must answer in the end the question of relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, between spirit and matter. Idealism entirely refuses to acknowledge the existence of objectivity and matter. It regards objectivity and matter as the illusions of subjectivity and hold that with the exception of subjective things, there is nothing else in the world. It regards subjectivity and spirit as the supreme and sole things in the world, and it even refuses to acknowledge the existence of objectivity and matter.

Contrary to idealism, materialism gives first place to objectivity and matter. It holds that the world is matter and matter is in objective existence. The occurrence, development and transformation of objective matter take place according to the nature of matter through its own laws. As to subjectivity and spirit, they do not exist independently. Correct ideas can only be produced from objective matter, and consequently, it is said that spiritual things are things occupying the second place. In order to transform things, we can only utilize the laws of objective matter and

impel the transformation and development of things in compliance with these laws. Matter is translated into spirit, and under given conditions spirit also can be translated into matter.

*

Liberated Areas

(解放区)

Liberated areas are used in general to describe the revolutionary bases where the Red armed forces led by the Chinese Communist Party ushered in and established democratic political power during the various revolutionary wars and the war of resistance against Japan.

In accordance with the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out the importance of setting up revolutionary bases. He said: "Because powerful imperialism and its reactionary allies in China always occupy the key cities of China over long periods of time, if the revolutionary forces are unwilling to make compromise with imperialism and its lackeys but want to persist in struggle, if the revolutionary forces plan to accumulate and temper their own strength and avoid to fight decisive battles with the strong enemy at a time our strength is inadequate, then they must turn the backward rural areas into advanced, consolidated bases and great revolutionary positions in the military, political and economic spheres so as to oppose the ferocious enemies who utilize the cities to attack the rural areas, and to win gradually complete victory in the revolution through protracted fighting."

In October 1927, after leading the Autumn Harvest Uprising, Chairman Mao set up the first revolutionary base at the Chingkang Mountains. Prior to the five encirclement and suppression campaigns launched by the Chiang Kai-shek gang of bandits, Red governments had been established at the Hunan-Kiangsi base of the Central Committee, the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi base, the Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei base, the Hunghu-Hunan-West Hupeh base, the Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi base, and the Yuchiang and Tsochiang bases of Kwangsi. After the Long March, the Chinese Communist Red Army came to North Shensi to set up the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region which became the base of the CCP Central Committee and the center of the revolution.

During the war of resistance against Japan, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army led by the Chinese Communist Party carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, formed many detachments and sent them deep into the rear of the enemy to establish bases in the broad countryside. During the eight years long war of resistance, 19 anti-Japanese bases were set up at different times in North China, Central China and South China.

After the beginning of the Third Revolutionary Civil War (the Liberation War), with the People's Liberation Army gaining victory after victory, the liberated areas expanded continuously, and new liberated areas appeared one after another. The broad masses of laboring people of the

liberated areas energetically supported the People's Liberation Army in all spheres to win the great victory of the Liberation War.

*

"New Stage of Peace and Democracy"

("和平民主新階段")

The "new stage of peace and democracy" was an out-and-out reactionary political program for class capitulation advertized by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i.

In 1946, at a time the Chinese people won great victory in the war of resistance against Japan after eight years of bloody struggle, China was faced with the great battle of decision between two kinds of destiny...two kinds of future. Should a country of people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat or a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country under the dictatorship of the big landlord-bourgeoisie be set up?

The proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao called for boldly mobilizing the masses, strengthening the might of the people, waging a tit-for-tat struggle to dispute every inch of ground with the US-Chiang reactionaries, and hence establishing a country of people's democratic dictatorship.

However, Liu Shao-ch'i cast forth the notorious fallacy of the "new stage of peace and democracy" at the time. He was of the view that after the war "the whole world is a world of peace, democracy and unity" and that "with the stage of peaceful construction coming to the whole world, there will be no war but peace and lasting peace." He also emphasized again and again: "The principal form of struggle of the Chinese revolution has now changed from armed struggle into the unarmed parliamentary struggle of the masses," and "all political problems must be solved peacefully." In China, "it is possible to bring success to the democratic revolution without going through civil war and to win basic success through the Constitution and the parliament." He was so frenzied as to advertize that "one must learn to make propaganda and speeches and to conduct electoral campaigns to win votes," and that "although we have not fought our way into Peiping and Tientsin with guns, yet should we fight a good parliamentary battle, we also can enter those places by means of votes." Simultaneously with this, he also wanted to liquidate the leadership of the Party over the army and to "unify" the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army--the predecessors of the People's Liberation Army--as Chiang Kai-shek's "National Army," thus liquidating the people's armed forces.

These fallacies were nothing more than an idiot's daydream! How could it be imagined that under the fascist dictatorship of the US-Chiang reactionaries, it was possible to set in motion with the tongue any democratic "electoral campaign" and to draft a constitution that embodied the

will of the proletariat? The object of Liu Shao-ch'i was to pull back the Chinese people who had just risen from the colonial yoke of Japanese fascism once again into the semi-colonial, semi-feudal abyss!

*

"Parliamentary Struggle"

("议会鬥爭")

"Parliaments" are tools for the ruling classes to uphold their rule and to hoodwink the masses of the people in the capitalist countries. Superficially, members of the parliaments are elected in elections and have the right to supervise the activities of the government. Actually, the overwhelming majority of them are capitalists, landlords and politicians who represent the interests of the ruling classes. The laboring people basically have no right to speak, and the parliaments can do nothing to change the standing of the proletariat as the oppressed and the exploited. It is therefore said that the parliaments are also for the embellishment of bourgeois dictatorship. When conditions permit, the political party of the proletariat can utilize the "democratic" parliament of the bourgeoisie as the rostrum for making propaganda of what it advocates, exposing the essence of the class enemies, and hence educating and enlightening the broad masses of laboring people to get organized and united, to overthrow bourgeois rule with revolution and to establish the rule of the proletariat. If the political party of the proletariat attempts to depend on the method of "parliamentary struggle" to win the so-called "majority" for seizing political power, that is basically impossible, and as a result, it inevitably sinks into opportunism--revisionism.

By advertizing the "parliamentary struggle" and the parliamentary road, renegade Liu Shao-ch'i sought to solve the problems of democratic revolution in China with "votes" by way of "electoral campaigns." In other words, he wanted, by way of "reorganizing the government" and "drafting the constitution," to send communists to "hold offices" in the reactionary government of the Kuomintang and to implement "peaceful transition." This was out-and-out the counterrevolutionary capitulationist line.

*

The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army

(八路軍新四軍)

The predecessor of the Eighth Route Army was the main force of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army led by the Chinese Communist Party. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan in 1937, through the tremendous efforts of the Chinese Communist Party, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party announced the formation of the anti-Japanese united front. The Red Army was reorganized as the Eighth Route Army of the National Revolutionary Army.

The predecessors of the New Fourth Army were the guerrilla bands of the Red Army distributed in Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Honan, Fukien, Chekiang and Anhwei, totalling 14 areas. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, these bands were reorganized in the winter of 1937 as the New Fourth Army in accordance with the instruction of the CCP Central Committee.

During the eight years' war of resistance, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army offered active resistance to Japan under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and established a fish-and-water relationship with the masses of the people. Supported and sustained by the broad masses of the people, they grew in strength although they were subject to the converging attack of Japan, Wang Ching-wei and Chiang Kai-shek. They also established vast anti-Japanese democratic bases, and resisted and attacked the greater part of the Japanese aggressor army in China and almost all the puppet troops. They were the main forces in the war of resistance against Japan. After Japan surrendered, Chiang Kai-shek set in motion in 1946 the war against the people, and the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the Northeast Democratic Allied Forces were unified and renamed as the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the PLA defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries and won great victory in the Liberation War.

*

The Policy of Utilization, Regulation and Transformation

（利用、限制、改造方針）

In his report to the Second Plenum of the 7th CCP Central Committee Chairman Mao pointed out: "There will be need, for a fairly long period after the victory of the revolution, to make use of the positive qualities of urban and rural private capitalism as far as possible, in the interest of developing the national economy. In this period, all capitalist elements in the cities and countryside which are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and expand." "But the existence and expansion of capitalism in China will not be unrestricted and uncurbed as in the capitalist countries. It will be restricted from several directions--in the scope of its operation and by tax policy, market prices and labor conditions. We shall adopt well-measured and flexible policies for restricting capitalism from several directions according to the specific conditions in each place, each industry and each period." "It is entirely wrong to think that at present we need not restrict capitalism and can discard the slogan of 'regulation of capital'; this is a Right opportunist view."

This means to say it is necessary to make use of its positive role beneficial to the national economy and the livelihood of the people and to restrict its negative role disadvantageous to the national economy and the livelihood of the people, and in the course of utilization and regulation to resort to gradual transformation (public-private joint operation)

so as to enable it to cope with the economic base of socialism and the policy of utilization, regulation and transformation.

This was the policy adopted by the Party and the state toward capitalist industry and commerce under the conditions of the time. The task in question basically had been accomplished in 1956, thus leading to the all-round joint public-private operation of private industry and commerce. With an ulterior object in view, big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i vociferously advertized unrestricted "large-scale development." He advertized "the greater the exploitation, the greater the merit." His object was to restore capitalism in China and his intention was most vicious.

*

The Theory That Productive Forces Decide Everything

(唯生產力論)

Productive forces and relations of production affect and regulate each other. Advanced production relations can promote the development of productive forces, while backward production relations can hamper the development of productive forces. If productive forces are hampered by production relations, this will lead to revolution. By that time, a new kind of production relations will be called for to take the place of the old production relations and to cope with the development of the new productive forces.

In order to develop productive forces to the full extent, production relations must be able to cope with the level of development of productive forces.

Big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i and company advertized the "theory that productive forces decide everything." They talked only about productive forces but made no mention of production relations. They opposed driving forward production with revolution, and were opposed to "grasping revolution and promoting production." Actually they wanted people to talk only of production and forget revolution, and use production to suppress and substitute for revolution. Their opportunist fallacies that "agricultural cooperation cannot be realized without mechanization" and that "any cat that can catch mice is a good cat, be it black or white" were representative of the theory that productive forces decide everything, and "san-tzu i-pao" [the restoration of individual economy and the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the households--translator] and the "four freedoms" were the necessary outcome of such fallacies. They vainly attempted to hoodwink the masses with such a fallacy as the "theory that productive forces decide everything." They wanted people to carry out only production but not the class struggle so as to bring about the collapse of the socialist revolution and restore capitalism in China thus making the broad masses of the laboring people of China to suffer a second time.

*

The 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee

(八届十中全会)

The 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee was convened in September 1962 and was presided over by Chairman Mao himself.

Chairman Mao pointed out at the meeting: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." At the same time he called on the whole Party: "We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place."

Chairman Mao also emphasized the need to grasp the class struggle in the ideological sphere. He pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counterrevolutionary class." At this meeting Chairman Mao issued to the whole Party and the people of the whole country the great call: "Never forget the class struggle."

The 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee stemmed the evil wind whipped up by Liu Shao-ch'i and others to restore capitalism and launched throughout the country the heroic socialist education movement, thus defending the Party's general line, the great leap forward, the people's commune and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

*

Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work (Draft)

(中共中央关于目前农村工作中若干问题的决定(草案))

On May 20, 1963, Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work (Draft)" (i.e., the Ten-Point Decision). This decision correctly analyzed the excellent situation of the time and emphatically pointed out: The general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune are entirely correct and great. The "Decision" elucidated Chairman Mao's doctrine concerning the law of class struggle in socialist society and analyzed the situation of the class struggle in the countryside at that time. It pointed out: At no time can

we forget the class struggle, the proletarian dictatorship, reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants, Party policies and Party work. The "Ten-Point Decision" clearly laid down the general and specific policies of the socialist education movement.

After the relay of the "Ten-Point Decision" to the lower level, big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i mortally feared and bitterly hated Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He hurriedly cast forth a bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, i.e., the "Taoyüan Experience"--to launch a rabid attack against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, in a vain attempt to sabotage the socialist education movement in the cities and the countryside.

*

"Twenty-Three Point Decision"

("二十三條")

At the end of 1964 through January 1965, Chairman Mao personally presided over the formulation of the document "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas" (i.e., the "23-Point Decision"). This great programmatic document laid down a series of correct general and specific policies for the "four cleanups" movement and systematically and thoroughly criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's strange talks as well as his bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

The "23-Point Decision" clearly pointed out that the socialist education movement was by nature concerned with "the contradiction between socialism and capitalism" and that "the crux of this movement is to purge those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and to consolidate and develop further the socialist positions in town and country."

The "23-Point Decision" emphasized investigation and study, taking the mass line, and resolutely opposing Liu Shao-ch'i's "secret work," "human sea tactics" and other revisionist stuff.

*

Contending, Blooming, Writing Big-Character Posters and Debating to the Fullest Extent

(大鳴、大放、大字報、大辯論)

Contending, blooming, writing big-character posters and debating to the fullest extent was a medium adopted in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Such extensive democracy was used to arouse openly, totally and from bottom to top the broad masses into exposing our seamy side and criticizing and supervising the leading organs of the Party and state at all

levels and the Party and government leaders at all levels. It was used to expose the demons and monsters in society and for the masses to educate themselves.

Only by resorting to such extensive democracy to arouse the masses into exposing our seamy side could we expose the secret agents, renegades and capitalist roaders who had sneaked into the Party and smash their plot for capitalist restoration. Such extensive democracy was Chairman Mao's new contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the continuation of the revolution under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship.

The Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution pointed out: "Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy."

"The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning." "When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force." "In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act."

*

Poisonous Weed

(毒草)

"Poisonous weed" is the antonym of "fragrant flower." In the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front, "poisonous weeds" broadly refer to the articles and works replete with poison concocted by the reactionary intellectuals.

For many years the class struggle has been most acute on the cultural front in China. During the period of new democracy, Chairman Mao had theoretically thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary cultural line. Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy" and "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" are the most well-integrated, most comprehensive and most systematic historical summaries of the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. After China entered the stage of socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao also published two articles--"On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work"--which are a new summing up of historical experience and a new development of Marxist-Leninist theory in literature and art.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant thought, we have criticized and repudiated large numbers of poisonous weeds peddled by reactionary bourgeois scholars and the counterrevolutionary revisionist clique in the past twenty years. Among these poisonous weeds are "The Life of Wu Hsün," "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'," "Hai Jui Abuses the Emperor," "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," "Evening Talks at Yenshan," "Notes from Three-Family Village," the sinister "Self-Cultivation" and all sorts of novels, plays and "academic works" disseminating all kinds of poison. The sinister "Self-Cultivation" is the biggest poisonous weed.

*

"The Life of Wu Hsün"

("武训传")

Not long after the liberation of the whole country, there appeared in movie circles a poisonous weed--the reactionary film "The Life of Wu Hsün" which a handful of capitalist roaders organized a lot of manpower to shoot at great costs.

Wu Hsün (1838-1896) was a stooge of the feudal forces. Toward the end of the Ch'ing Dynasty, as the Chinese people waged struggle against imperialism and feudal rule, Wu Hsün basically did not touch a single hair of the reactionary ruling classes. On the contrary, he frenziedly propagated feudal culture and did everything to display his servility and obsequiousness toward the feudal ruling classes. Wu Hsün's "promoting schools through begging" was entirely a signboard for hoodwinking people, and his object was to cover up the class contradictions, advertize the slave mentality, smother the revolutionary spirit of resistance on the part of the oppressed people, exterminate the roaring peasants' uprisings and hence to consolidate the reactionary rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty. It was precisely because of this that the authorities of the Ch'ing Dynasty highly praised Wu Hsün, bestowed on him a yellow jacket from the emperor, honored him with the title of "I-hsüeh-cheng" (义学正), built a memorial hall in his honor, and ordered the Bureau of National History to write his biography.

The film "The Life of Wu Hsün" actually portrayed him as a "great man" who did not hesitate to sacrifice himself in order to offer the children of the poverty-stricken peasants an opportunity for education, thus vilifying the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and advertizing bourgeois reformism and capitulationism.

On May 20, 1951, Chairman Mao himself wrote for the Jen-min Jih-pao the editorial entitled "Attention Should Be Paid to the Discussion of the Film 'The Life of Wu Hsün'," solemnly pointing out the reactionary nature of "The Life of Wu Hsün" and calling on the whole country to criticize and repudiate the film. This was the first large-scale criticism and repudiation made against the reactionary thought of the bourgeoisie after the founding of new China.

*

The Hu Feng Counterrevolutionary Clique

(胡风反革命集团)

Hu Feng, originally called Chang Kuang-jen (张光人) and also known as Ku Fei (胡风), was a native of Hupeh. A renegade, he later sneaked into the revolutionary ranks. Prior to the war of resistance against Japan, he sneaked into the cultural body of the Left wing in Shanghai to carry out various disruptive and subversive activities from within. After liberation, he showed bitter hatred for the new society and the people's revolutionary regime. In all his activities in the sphere of literature and art, Hu Feng frenziedly propagated bourgeois idealism and opposed Marxism. He also gathered together a group of renegades, imperialist and Kuomintang secret agents, Trotskyites, reactionary army officers to form a counterrevolutionary clique for carrying out counterrevolutionary activities. This counterrevolutionary clique consistently persisted in their reactionary viewpoint and stand and was stubbornly antagonistic to the literary and art undertakings led by the Party.

In 1954, Hu Feng submitted a 30,000-word "letter of opinion" to the CCP Central Committee maliciously attacking the literary and art policy of the Party and Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art. In his "letter of opinion" Hu Feng put forward an anti-Party, anti-people literary and art program. This program comprised six points. It opposed the mastery of the communist world outlook by writers, the integration of writers with the workers, peasants and soldiers, the ideological remolding of writers, the employment of national form in literature and art, the use of literature and art to serve current political task, and the leadership of the Party in literary and art undertakings--in other words, it called for the liquidation of Party leadership.

In 1955, a mass movement for the criticism and repudiation of the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique was launched throughout the country. During May and June, the Jen-min Jih-pao consecutively published three lots of material concerning the Hu Feng counterrevolutionary clique, thus completely smashing the counterrevolutionary plot of this clique and baring a group of big and small Hu Feng elements.

*

"Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'"

("红楼夢研究")

"Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" was a book by bourgois scholar Yü P'ing-po. In this book, the author adopted bourgeois idealism, formalism and the method of scholastic textual research to prove that "The Dream of the Red Chamber" was the auto-biography of its author Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in, thus distorting and obliterating the positive significance of its opposition to feudalism. In doing this Yü P'ing-po entirely inherited the reactionary line of comprador-bourgeois scholar Hu Shih.

Criticism was first made against the "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" in September 1954, but a handful of capitalist roaders in literary and art establishments offered obstruction. On October 16, Chairman Mao personally wrote a letter to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee and other comrades concerned sternly denouncing the obstruction to criticism and repudiation made against Yü P'ing-po's "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'" and the reactionary thought of Hu Shih. He pointed out: "Toward such bourgeois intellectuals as Yü P'ing-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them. But we should criticize and repudiate their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of young people and should not surrender to them." In response to Chairman Mao's call, the whole country conducted stern criticism and repudiation, and Hu Shih's disciples of all hues were refuted and discredited by criticism.

*

Metaphysics

(形而上学)

The term "hsing-erh-shang-hsüeh" [meaning metaphysics] was translated from the Greek language, and its original meaning was "beyond physics." The Chinese translator translated its meaning with a term in the "Book of Change" as "hsing-erh-shang-hsüeh." The "Book of Change" says: "The invisible thing is called the way while the visible thing is called the instrument (the former refers to the abstract way that transcends a visible thing, and the latter refers to a concrete thing).

Metaphysics is a world outlook and methodology basically opposed to materialistic dialectics. It looks at the world with the isolated, static and one-sided viewpoint. It regards all things in the world and their forms and types as forever isolated from one another. It denies that there is any inter-connection or inter-action between things, and that even if there were connections, such connections would only be superficial ones but not inner or essential ones. It regards objective things as absolute and forever constant and that if there were changes, they would only be changes in number or in place. It regards such changes as the outcome of impulsion by external forces, but denies that the movement of opposites within a thing is the fundamental cause of the transformation or development of the thing and that there are the two aspects of opposition and unity within a thing. It regards certain aspect of a thing as the whole. This metaphysical viewpoint runs counter to the law of development of objective things.

Metaphysics is an erroneous, decadent viewpoint and theory that runs counter to objective reality. The metaphysical world outlook represents the interests of the bourgeoisie, and because of this, the bourgeois thinkers and modern revisionists vociferously glorify metaphysics and oppose dialectical materialism. Metaphysics has become the bourgeois world outlook and method of thinking.

*

Model Revolutionary Plays

(革命樣板戲)

The word "model" means something fit for demonstration and copying. Model revolutionary plays are a new variety of plays which weed out the old to let the new emerge and bring into play the revolutionary substance with the classic form of art.

For many years there has been the struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front in China. The capitalist roaders in literary and art circles and the counterrevolutionary revisionists devised all ways and means to have the stage dominated by emperors and princes, generals and minister, gifted scholars and beauties, lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters so as to recall the ghosts of the long dead feudal class and the overthrown bourgeoisie, but they uglified in a thousand and one ways the laboring people who are makers of history.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and in accordance with his teachings that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics and that we should make "ancient things serve the present and foreign things serve China," the Chinese artists, under the direct leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, broke through one barrier after another and created at different times a number of outstanding model plays of revolutionary literature and art--revolutionary modern Peking operas "Story of the Red Lantern," "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold," "Sha Chia Pang," "On the Docks" and "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment"; revolutionary modern ballet plays "The Red Detachment of Women" and "White-Haired Girl"; revolutionary modern symphony "Sha Chia Pang"; and a new variety of proletarian revolutionary literature and art with piano accompaniment, "Story of the Red Lantern." These plays warmly praise through various profiles Chairman Mao's great thought on armed seizure of political power and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and vividly exhibit the heroic image of the broad masses of revolutionary people.

*

"Hai Jui Dismissed from Office"

("海瑞罷官")

"Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," "a new historical play," was a big poisonous weed cast forth by Wu Han, a so-called "authority in history" under renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. In 1961, Wu Han cast forth the play of Peking opera "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," and the play was staged everywhere to spread poison. In December 1965, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that in regard to "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," "the crux is the question of 'dismissal from office.' The emperor Chia Ching dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed P'eng Te-huai from office. And P'eng Te-huai is 'Hai Jui' too." This clearly showed

that in the poisonous weed "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" the bourgeois reactionary warlords utilized the story of the dismissal of the feudal official Hai Jui from office in the Ming Dynasty to make insinuations and attack the Communist Party and socialism, to reopen the case of P'eng Te-huai and other Right opportunists and to create public opinion for capitalist restoration.

Chairman Mao himself initiated the criticism and repudiation of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." The publication of the article "On the New Historical Play 'Hai Jui Dismissed from Office'" by Comrade Yao Wen-yüan under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing unveiled the prelude to the attack against the handful of top capitalist roaders within the Party.

*

"February Outline"

("二月提綱")

The "February Outline" was carefully concocted on February 2 through 7, 1966--with the support of Liu Shao-ch'i and in the name of the Party Central Committee--by the P'eng Chen counterrevolutionary revisionist clique. This outline was out and out a revisionist program opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and the proletarian dictatorship. It opposed the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticism and repudiation of Wu Han's "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," in a vain attempt to pull this great revolutionary criticism and repudiation to the right and embody it in the orbit of so-called "pure academic" discussion. The full name of this outline was the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution," and it was therefore also called "Outline Report" for short. The so-called Outline Report of the Group of Five was actually the outline report of P'eng Chen himself because it was created in accordance with his own view behind the backs of the members of the "Group of Five." It had never been discussed by the "Group of Five." Because this "Outline Report" was formulated in February, it was called the "February Outline."

*

Bourgeois Agents

(資產階級代理人)

This refers to the handful of bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into or been pulled out from the Party, in other words, a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. They represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, vainly attempted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. In the areas and establishments under their control, they harbor and connive with bad people, feign compliance but are actually antagonistic to the proletarian dictatorship, strike blows at the revolutionaries and carry out bourgeois dictatorship.

*

The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee

（中央文化革命小组）

The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee is a new thing emerging in the great proletarian cultural revolution of China. It is an organ set up by the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee for leading the great cultural revolution.

The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee was at first called the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution," but the name of this "Group of Five" had been unlawfully used by counter-revolutionary revisionist P'eng Chen to carry out conspiratorial activities for undermining the great cultural revolution. On May 16, 1966, the CCP Central Committee notified the whole Party (i.e., the well-known "May 16 Circular") of the following decision: "To dissolve the original 'Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution' and its offices and to set up a new group, directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, in charge of the cultural revolution."

The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee has made brilliant contributions to the great success of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

*

The 11th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee

（八届十一中全会）

The 11th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee was convened on August 1 through 12, 1966, in Peking under the auspices of Chairman Mao himself. At this plenary session, Chairman Mao published the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" of great historic significance, and presided over the formulation of the great revolutionary program, "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (i.e., the Sixteen-Point Decision). The plenary session also discussed and ratified the important decisions and measures taken on domestic and international questions by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee since the 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee in September 1962. The plenum entirely agreed with the series of wise decisions and policies put forward by Chairman Mao in the past four years since the 10th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee.

This plenum scientifically explained the great significance and important position of Mao Tsetung thought in the history of development of Marxism-Leninism. It was a meeting of epoch-making significance in the history of the proletarian revolution in China as well as one of far-reaching repercussions to the internationalist communist movement. It was a great milestone in carrying out the revolution under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship in China.

*

"Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (i.e., the Sixteen-Point Decision)

("中国共产党中央委员会关於无产阶级文化大革命的决定"(即十六條))

The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was adopted on August 8, 1966, by the 11th Plenum of the 8th CCP Central Committee. This programmatic document analyzed the nature, conditions and tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution and laid down the general and specific policies of the Party in this great revolution. It clearly stipulated that "the main targets of the present movement are those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." The basic spirit threading through this document was to trust, rely on, and boldly arouse the masses, to respect the initiative of the masses, and to carry out a socialist revolution that truly proceeded from bottom to top. Because there are sixteen points in this document, it is also called the "Sixteen-Point Decision."

These sixteen points are: (1) a new stage in the socialist revolution; (2) the main currents and the twists and turns; (3) put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses; (4) let the masses educate themselves in the movement; (5) firmly apply the class line of the Party; (6) correctly handle contradictions among the people; (7) be on guard against those who brand the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionaries"; (8) the question of cadres; (9) cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses; (10) educational reform; (11) the question of criticizing by name in the press; (12) policy toward scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs; (13) the question of arrangements for integration with the socialist education movement in city and countryside; (14) take firm hold of the revolution and stimulate production; (15) the armed forces; (16) Mao Tsetung thought is the guide to action in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

*

"Bombard the Headquarters"

("炮打司令部")

"Bombard the Headquarters" was a big-character poster written by Chairman Mao during the great cultural revolution. At the outbreak of this revolution in 1966, Liu Shao-ch'i and company were panic-stricken. Taking advantage of Chairman Mao's absence from Peking for more than 50 days, they cast forth the bourgeois reactionary line and sent out a large number of work units to be stationed in schools and ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to extinguish the raging fire of this great revolution. Later, Chairman Mao returned to Peking. During the first ten days of August, he presided over the convening of the 11th Plenum of the 8th

CCP Central Committee and published on August 5 the well-known big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," thus exposing the carrying out of bourgeois dictatorship by Liu Shao-ch'i and company by "standing facts on their head and juggling black and white, encircling and suppressing revolutionaries, stifling opinions differing from their own, imposing a White Terror...." With the force of a thunderbolt, this big-character poster lifted the lid off the struggle between the two lines and the two headquarters, thus enabling the people all over the country to understand that the main target and main task of the great cultural revolution was to bring about the complete collapse of the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i.

*

Hitting a Great Many in Order To Protect a Few

(打击一大片,保護一小撮)

This was a component of the bourgeois reactionary line. For the sake of shielding a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and suppressing the mass movement in the form of the great cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company carried out a reactionary policy which was "Left" in form but Right in essence in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao pointed out: We must have faith that the overwhelming majority of the cadres are revolutionary. We must unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and adopt the policy of "taking warning from the past in order to be more careful for the future and treating the illness in order to save the man" toward the cadres who have committed mistakes. The main target of attack was a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and company regarded the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres as the target of attack and their objective was to upset Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and defend a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

*

Economism

(经济主义)

Economism means using economic means to win over people and material incentives to corrupt the revolutionary will of the masses for the purpose of making them disregard the state interests, the collective interests and the long-range interests, and simply give pursuit to the temporary interests of the individual, and of leading the political struggle of the masses astray toward economism.

Economism is out and out counterrevolutionary revisionist stuff opposed to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought. Under the capitalist system, such economism is a tool for preserving the reactionary rule of

capitalism and opposing the proletarian revolution. Under the socialist system, it is a tool for restoring capitalism.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, when the bourgeois reactionary line was on the brink of collapse along the whole front, a handful of capitalist roaders within the Party and the diehards who obstinately adhered to the reactionary line were not reconciled to their defeat. They launched a new counterattack and whipped up the evil wind of economism. They employed the means of increasing wages and welfare benefits to win over a section of the masses who did not know the truth. They adopted the method of paying traveling expenses to lure the workers into leaving their production posts, and instigated the peasants to distribute the accumulated funds of the production teams and communes. They attempted to lead a grave political struggle astray toward economism and shift the orientation of the struggle in a vain attempt to smother the great proletarian cultural revolution and protect themselves to survive the test.

*

January Revolution

(一月革命)

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries united to seize power from a handful of capitalist roaders within the Party. This was a decisive battle. This great tempest of power seizure began in January 1967 in Shanghai.

The new-born Wen-hui Pao of Shanghai published the "Letter to All People in Shanghai" jointly issued by 11 revolutionary rebel organizations in Shanghai municipality. This profoundly exposed the conspiracy of a handful of capitalist roaders in Shanghai and sounded the bugle of the "January Revolution."

On January 9, Chairman Mao himself decided to broadcast the "Letter to All People in Shanghai" to the whole country. On the same day, 32 rebel organizations in Shanghai issued an "urgent notice" setting out ten suggestions to oppose economism.

On February 5, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai seized all power from a handful of capitalist roaders in the Municipal Committee and Municipal People's Council of Shanghai and set up a provisional organ of supreme power.

From then on, the stormy "January Revolution" of Shanghai swept over the whole country, and millions of revolutionaries of various provinces and municipalities rose to wage struggles to seize power and take over one after another the staunch strongholds occupied by the capitalist roaders.

*

Petty-Bourgeois Ideology

(小資產階級思想)

The petty bourgeoisie stands between the two major classes--the bourgeoisie and the working class. It is rather complex in class composition and embraces various strata, e.g., the middle peasants in the countryside, the broad masses of big and small intelligentsia, the small traders, handicraftsmen and professionals.

The petty-bourgeois ideology is characterized by individualism, liberalism, subjectivism, mountain stronghold mentality and anarchism. In the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie is characterized by its supporting and participating in the revolution as well as its vacillation.

The petty-bourgeois ideology comes under the category of bourgeois ideology.

*

Landlords, Rich Peasants, Counterrevolutionaries, Bad Elements and Rightists

(地、富、反、坏、右)

The landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois rightists represent the targets of the proletaria dictatorship. They are only allowed to behave themselves but are not permitted to be unruly in words and deeds.

*

Active Counterrevolutionaries

(現行反革命分子)

All those who practice murder or arson, spread poison, deliberately carry out all kinds of subversive incidents, act as quislings, steal state secrets and sabotage state properties are called active counterrevolutionaries. When conclusive evidence is available, these active counterrevolutionaries will be dealt with according to law.

*

"Three-in-One Combination" Revolutionary Committee

("三结合"的革命委員会)

A revolutionary committee is a provisional organ of power set up in a place or unit where power must be seized and the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one combination" must be carried out. Chairman Mao points out:

"In every place or unit where power must be seized, it is necessary to carry out the policy of the revolutionary 'three-in-one combination' in establishing a provisional organ of power which is revolutionary and representative and enjoys proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called the revolutionary committee."

The revolutionary "three-in-one combination" refers to the revolutionary committee established on the basis of the "three-in-one combination" of the representatives of the revolutionary mass organizations, the representatives of the PLA units stationed in the place and the representatives of the revolutionary cadres.

*

Mass Criticism and Repudiation

(大批判)

The people of the whole country use Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie, revisionism and the various Right or "Left" erroneous ideas that run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and to wipe out the pernicious influence spread by revisionism in all spheres. Its form is at variance, and at the same time it is made to last by integrating it with various tasks.

*

Party Consolidation

(整党)

Party consolidation means consolidating the Party organization.

In order to preserve the vitality of the Party and to uphold it forever as the vanguard organization full of vigor and vitality and capable of leading the revolutionary masses of the proletariat to fight against the class enemies, it is necessary to carry out Party consolidation, to get rid of the stale and take in the fresh. Getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh should be carried out organizationally and ideologically.

Getting rid of the stale means getting rid of the renegades, secret agents, diehard capitalist roaders and some degenerate elements and alien class elements by expelling them from the Party. The few Party members who have made serious mistakes must conscientiously make self-criticism. Those Party members who are lifeless and have not transformed themselves despite education are advised to resign from the Party. Taking in the fresh means admitting into the Party a number of outstanding advanced elements of the proletariat that have emerged in the revolution and selecting and promoting outstanding communists to take part in leadership work in Party organizations at all levels.

The great cultural revolution is a great mass movement for consolidating the Party.

*

Simplification of Organizational Structure

(精简机构)

This means knocking the bottom out of the overlapping administrative organs and streamlining their personnel. Simpler administration and better troops calls for organizing vigorous organizations capable of keeping in close touch with the masses and reality and of attaining the five goals of simplification, unity, efficiency, economy and opposition to bureaucracy. The personnel of the administrative organs must also be able to lead the life of "officials" as well as the life of common people, to shatter self-interest and establish public interest, and to promote the ideological revolutionization of man. This is an important content at the stage of struggle, criticism and transformation.

*

Transfer of Office Workers to the Lower Level

(下放科室人员)

The transfer of office workers to the lower level means streamlining the office, administrative, technical and management personnel of factories and mines, enterprises and administrative organs and sending them to rural areas, factories and mines to participate directly in productive labor.

The transfer of office workers to the lower level is definitely not just a question of retrenching a few office workers and offices, but is an important content in the task of struggle, criticism and transformation. It is of very great significance to opposing and guarding against revisionism and to fostering cadres, and is also an important measure for consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

*

Pluto's Palace

(阎王殿)

This originally refers to the mythic Hades under the control of Pluto where life and death are decreed. The Pluto's Palace in mythology is now borrowed to analogize the big and small "independent kingdoms" antagonistic to Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters. These "independent kingdoms" under the control of the Liu Shao-ch'i counterrevolutionary revisionist clique energetically grasped ideology and the superstructure,

utilized their usurped power to cast forth poisonous weeds and block the voice of Chairman Mao, and frenziedly exercised counterrevolutionary dictatorship against the proletariat and the broad revolutionary masses. The impenetrable former Peking Municipal Committee, former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and former Ministry of Culture all came under this category.

*

Study Course in Mao Tsetung Thought

(毛泽东思想学习班)

This is a new thing of great political significance created by the revolutionary masses of China during the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres are organized together for the purpose of studying Mao Tsetung thought with "combating self and criticizing revisionism" as the key link and of solving problems with Mao Tsetung thought. In the study course, Chairman Mao's books are conscientiously studied, the work style of consistency in words and deeds and in outward and inward appearances is promoted, and the undesirable work style of saying one thing and doing another and inconsistency between the outward appearance and the inward one is opposed.

Chairman Mao teaches: "To run study course is a good method. You can arrive at a solution to many problems in the study course." By running a profusion of study courses of various types in warm response to this great call of Chairman Mao's, the armymen and civilians of the whole country have energetically advanced the ideological revolutionization of man, raised consciousness in the struggle between the two line and the class struggle, greatly accelerated the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carried out to the letter Chairman Mao's various proletarian policies.

*

"May 7" Instruction

("五·七"指示)

The "May 7" instruction refers to Chairman Mao's letter dated May 7, 1966, to Comrade Lin Piao. This letter calls on all trades in the whole country to run themselves as great schools of revolutionization that are capable of attending to industrial work and farming, civilian and military affairs. It call on all PLA officers and men, workers, peasants, students, and those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations to study politics, military affairs and culture, to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie, to learn other things in addition to their main tasks, and to foster themselves as new communist people of all-round development with proletarian political consciousness.

The "May 7" instruction reads: "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this great school our armymen should learn politics, military affairs and culture. They can also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, run some medium and small factories and manufacture a number of products to meet their own needs or exchange with the state at equal values. They can also do mass work and take part in the socialist education movement in the factories and villages. After the socialist education movement, they can always find mass work to do, in order to insure that the army is always as one with the masses. They should also participate in each struggle of the cultural revolution as it occurs to criticize the bourgeoisie. In this way, the army can concurrently study, engage in agriculture, run factories and do mass work. Of course, these tasks should be properly coordinated, and a difference should be made between the primary and secondary tasks. Each army unit should engage in one or two of the three tasks of agriculture, industry and mass work, but not in all three at the same time. In this way, our army of several million will be able to play a very great role indeed.

"While the main task of the workers is in industry, they should also study military affairs, politics and culture. They, too, should take part in the socialist education movement and in the criticizing of the bourgeoisie. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agricultural production and side occupations, as is done at the Tach'ing oilfield.

"While the main task of the peasants in the communes is agriculture (including forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery), they should at the same time study military affairs, politics and culture. Where conditions permit, they should collectively run small plants. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie.

"This holds good for students too. While their main task is to study, they should in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is, industrial work, farming and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie. The school term should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should not be allowed to continue.

"Where conditions permit those working in commerce, in the service trades and in Party and government organizations should do the same."

*

"Theory of Many Centers, That Is, of No Center"

("多中心即无中心論")

"Many centers" refer to those reactionary ways of thinking based on factionalism and the small group mentality that attempt to split the revolutionary ranks, disturb the class front, establish mountain strongholds and become a lord, "go one's own way" and "regard oneself as the center" for

the purpose of opposing the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and the implementation of his great strategic plan.

The Jen-min Jih-pao editorial of August 5, 1968, pointed out: "What is called 'theory of many centers' is a reactionary theory of the bourgeoisie based on the mountain stronghold mentality and individualism. It disrupts the unity of the revolutionary ranks on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought and hampers the implementation of the proletarian revolutionary line. If every department or unit 'regards itself as the center,' then there will be many 'centers'--in other words, no center--in the whole country. If this kind of thinking were allowed to develop and not corrected, then we would take the erroneous road of divorcing ourselves from and even opposing the proletarian headquarters."

The "theory of many centers" is the malignant enlargement of bourgeois individualism, an expression of the egoistic world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

History has long ago proved that at whatever time and under whatever circumstance, so long as affairs are run according to the instructions of the center of leadership in the form of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, the revolution will move forward, expand and triumph. Contrary to this, the revolution will suffer setback and fail. Consequently, the proletarian revolutionaries must fight resolutely against the "theory of many centers, that is, of no center," and safeguard the unity of the proletarian headquarters.

*

Philosophy of the Compradors and Foreign Slaves

(買办洋奴哲学)

Compradors are bourgeois elements relying on foreign capitalists, the unique product in colonial or semi-colonial countries. Foreign capitalists employ them to squeeze wealth from the people in these countries. In the anti-imperialist movement of colonies and semi-colonies, compradors are used to suppress and disintegrate the revolution. Foreign slaves are people willing to serve as the running dogs of foreigners. Compradors and foreign slaves are two in one.

Chairman Mao points out that it is necessary to take the road of "independence and self-reliance" in building socialism in China. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and his like advocate relying on foreigners for everything, advertize the reactionary theme that "the Chinese people are incompetent" and "only the foreigners are competent" and promote "the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." They always follow other people and are willing to be the slaves of the latter. They restrict the Chinese workers with the shackles of foreign conventions, foreign dogmas, foreign theories and foreign techniques. They let the bourgeois reactionary technical "authorities" monopolize technical power and permit the "blockade" of

imperialism and revisionism to smother the development of industrial science and technology in China, so that China can never catch up with the world advanced level in industrial science and technology. This reactionary theory of Liu Shao-ch'i and company is the philosophy of compradors and foreign slaves.

*

Doctrine of Trailing Behind at a Snail's Pace

(爬行主义)

There is a great principle for building socialism in our fatherland: "independence and self-reliance." There is a general line, that is, "building socialism by going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results." This general line was formulated by Chairman Mao himself. Chairman Mao also taught us: "We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period." "The Chinese people are ambitious and competent, and they certainly can overtake and surpass the world advanced level in the near future."

Counterrevolutionary revisionist Liu Shao-ch'i and his like cast forth the reactionary industrial line based on the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace that ran counter to the great policy formulated by Chairman Mao. The doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace means not taking one's own road but taking the beaten track traversed by other countries and inching forward behind other countries so as to make China forever lag behind.

*

Leading Group

(领导班子)

This refers to the organization or organ at the core of a certain place or unit formed by its members for assuming leadership work. For example, the core of leadership of the revolutionary committees at all levels is the leading group. Chairman Mao points out: "The revolutionary committee should exercise united leadership, eliminate redundant or overlapping administrative structures, follow the policy of better troops and simpler administration and organize a revolutionized leading group which keeps in contact with the masses."

*

Scholastic Philosophy

(繁琐哲学)

The ideology which departs from practical life, disregards facts and practice and acts on the strength of subjective imagination is called scholastic philosophy.

The term of philosophy mentioned here is also used to generalize all trivial, outmoded rules and regulations and the taboos not in correspondence with the need of socialism.

*

Basic Masses

(基本群众)

This refers to the dependable, basic and principal contingents among the masses. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and other laboring people belong to such contingents. They are richest in thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. For example, the working class is the revolutionary leading class, the strongest revolutionary class in ideology, in politics and in strength. The poor and lower-middle peasants and other laboring people are the most reliable allies of the proletariat. The socialist revolution and socialist construction must firmly rely on such basic masses.

*

Dissecting the Sparrow

(解剖麻雀)

Dissecting the sparrow is a way to sum up experience. "Although the sparrow is small, yet it is complete with five internal organs." Dissecting the sparrow means conducting a penetrating analysis, investigation and study of a specific sample and summing up its concrete experience. A specific sample may be good or bad. Good samples are the advanced units, the advanced personnel and the advanced things. We should sum up the concrete experiences of the advanced samples, establish models and propagate such experiences to the masses so as to popularize them and impel the uninterrupted forward development of the movement and work. A bad sample may be used as a teacher by negative example, so that the same kind of mistake may not be committed again. This is the work method of guiding the general with the specific taught by Chairman Mao.

*

Five Requirements for Successors to the Revolution

(革命接班人的五个條件)

According to Chairman Mao's teaching, the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are:

(1) They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists.

(2) They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the world.

(3) They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree with them and even with those who formerly wrongly opposed them but have sincerely corrected their mistakes.

(4) They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses.

(5) They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work.

*

Combat Self and Criticize Revisionism

(斗私批修)

"It is imperative to combat self and criticize revisionism"--this is the great call advanced by Chairman Mao to the people of the whole country. Combating self means combating bourgeois self in one's mind with Mao Tsetung thought, making revolution deep in one's soul, and destroying "self-interest" in order to establish "public interest." Criticizing revisionism means criticizing and repudiating revisionism with Mao Tsetung thought.

*

World Outlook

(世界观)

World outlook is the way people see the world and can also be described as a basic viewpoint toward all kinds of things in the world. This embraces three questions: How does the world come into being? How does the world develop? For what do people live in the world?

The world outlook is determined by the class stand of people. Different classes are different in world outlook in regard to these three questions.

Chairman Mao says: "Speaking of world outlook, there are basically only two schools of view in the present era--the proletarian school and the bourgeois school. It is either the proletarian world outlook or the bourgeois world outlook."

*

Support the Government and Cherish the People

(擁政愛民)

"Support the government and cherish the people" is the glorious tradition of our army and is also a manifestation of the essence of the people's army. Under the new situation of the revolution at the present, supporting the government means supporting the revolutionary committee, trusting, respecting and supporting the revolutionary committee, exemplarily carrying out its resolutions and defending the new revolutionary political power. Show concern for and take good care of the broad masses of the people, and at the present it is especially necessary to help the broad revolutionary masses to implement further Chairman Mao's latest instructions, conscientiously accomplish the militant tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, energetically grasp the revolution and promote production. The people are cherished to the utmost in this way.

*

Support the Army and Cherish the People

(擁軍愛民)

"Support the army and cherish the people" is Chairman Mao's great call. The People's Liberation Army is made up of the children of workers and peasants. It is a revolutionary army that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought and is extremely proletarianized and extremely militant. It has performed immortal feats for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the past and has now rendered outstanding contributions to the great cultural revolution. Such an army would of course be warmly supported by the broad revolutionary masses. The revolutionary masses believe that relying on and learning from the Liberation Army means supporting the army. The Liberation Army also believes that relying on the broad revolutionary masses, doing a good job in "supporting industry, agriculture and the Left" and "giving military training and exercising military control," breathing together, sharing the destiny, closely uniting, and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary masses to defend the proletarian dictatorship means cherishing the people.

*

Obtaining Confessions by Compulsion and Giving Them Credence

(逼、供、信)

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must pay attention to policy in dealing with counterrevolutionaries and those who have made mistakes. The target of attack must be narrowed and more people must be helped through education. Stress should be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and to give them credence." Obtaining confessions by compulsion and giving them credence is the method of interrogation of the judiciary system of the reactionary ruling classes. The interrogator resorts to torture in order to extort a confession and the defendant is forced to make a "confession" at random and even false accusations against good people. Without conducting investigation and study, the interrogator blindly gives credence to such a confession and convicts the defendant. This subjectivist method of giving no weight to investigation and study and evidence is in contravention of the proletarian policy and is forbidden in socialist countries.

*

Giving a Way Out

(给出路)

Chairman Mao points out: "The policy of not giving a way out is not a proletarian policy."

The proletarian policy is to indicate clearly the way out for the masses of the people of all classes and strata under the leadership of the proletariat, and to do everything possible to transform negative factors into positive factors so as to enable those people who have committed serious mistakes to confess and correct their own mistakes. As to the small number of obstinate capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities and academic authorities, after they have been criticized and repudiated to the full extent and toppled and discredited by criticism, they also should be given a way out.

The adoption of such a policy can split and disintegrate the enemy camp to greater advantage, help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack. This is of advantage to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

*

The Policy of "Killing None and Not Arresting Most"

("一个不杀,大部不抓"的政策)

This is a policy put forward by Chairman Mao in the struggle against the enemy.

In the case of the bad people and suspects ferreted out in the movement for cleaning up the class ranks, if they do not come under the category of active counterrevolutionaries who are proved to have committed murder, arson or spreading poison, none of them is sentenced to death, and most of them are not arrested and imprisoned. But they must be put under the surveillance of the masses.

*

Bourgeois Reactionary Academic Authorities

(资产阶级反动学术权威)

In the academic sphere, some so-called "academic authorities" take the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie and are opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tsetung thought. These people are the bourgeois reactionary "academic authorities." For example, some reactionary "professors" and "experts" are such people, and they are supported and protected by the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by Liu Shao-ch'i.

*

Thoroughgoing Materialists

(彻底的唯物主义者)

The mechanistic and metaphysical materialists in the end necessarily will fall into the old ruts of idealism. Only the dialectical materialists can be thoroughgoing materialists. Having mastered the laws of social development, they know that the revolutionary forces which are in correspondence with and promote social development will win and that the counterrevolutionary forces which contravene and obstruct social development will fail. Consequently, they have revolutionary optimism and have no fear of the twists and turns and the reversals of the revolutionary struggle.

*

Bonds, Internal and External Debts

(公债、内债、外债)

Bonds and internal and external debts are means for a country to absorb capital funds. Bonds issued inside the country are called internal debts while loans from other countries are called external debts.

At present, there are in the world two kinds of debts which are fundamentally different by nature. One kind is the debt incurred by capitalist and revisionist countries, and it is a means in the service of the exploiting classes or a few privileged classes for plundering the laboring people at home. Another kind is the debt incurred by socialist countries for serving the proletariat and the broad laboring people.

The bonds issued by China and the loans she borrowed from the Soviet Union in the past were all expended in the cause of socialist production and construction for the well-being of the broad masses of laboring people. At present, China is a country free from internal and external debts in the world.

The countries under the rule of imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction resort to the means of issuing bonds and incurring external debts for armaments expansion and war preparations, for home rule and for aggression abroad.

US imperialism is at present the country with the greatest amount of internal and external debts in the world.

*

Productive Forces and Production Relations

(生產力和生產關係)

To carry out material production, mankind must possess three essentials, namely, object of labor, labor force and production tools. They are the productive forces. Among the productive forces, labor force is the most important as well as the most lively factor. When production tools are in the hands of people with consciousness, their greatest role can be brought into play.

The production activities of men cannot be isolated from each other, but always constitute the production of society. In the course of carrying out social production of material resources men will necessarily develop certain social connections, in other words, economic relations between each other. Such relations are production relations. The basis of production relations is a question of ownership of means of production. Different systems of ownership of means of production determine production relations of different nature. This is to say, different forms of ownership of means of production give rise to different kinds of production relations.

For example, when means of production are owned by a small number of exploiters, the relationship between the exploiters and the exploited will arise, and this is the case in the capitalist society. If means of production are owned by the laboring people, this will give rise to mutual aid and cooperation between the laboring people, and such new production relations are found in the socialist countries.

If the nature of production relations is consistent with the development of productive forces, this is called the adaptability of the productive forces to the production relations. Advanced production relations can bring about the development of productive forces. If the nature of productive forces changes (or develops) but the production relations remain unchanged, contradictions will emerge between the two. By that time, if we do not change the old production relations and set up new production relations, the development of productive forces will be hampered.

*

Putting Revolution in Command of Production

(用革命统帅生产)

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The existence of human society determines the thinking of men. Once the correct thinking representing the advanced class is grasped by the masses, it will be translated into a material force for transforming society and the world." With man heightening his political consciousness and grasping Mao Tsetung thought, he can bring his activism into play and translate the spiritual force into the material force.

It is necessary to put political work in command of economic work and all other kinds of work. Bringing politics to the fore means putting Mao Tsetung thought in command and grasping revolution in the first place. The relationship between revolution and production is forever one between those in command and those under their command. Putting revolution in command of production means revolution taking the lead to promote production. "Grasp revolution and promote production" seeks first to grasp the revolution and the class struggle. Employing this as the motive force to raise the political consciousness of men and to mobilize the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses to the full extent, production can be vigorously promoted leading to the uninterrupted appearance of new leaps.

*

Unity of Opposites

(对立统一)

"Unity of opposites" is a philosophical concept, and is what we commonly call "contradiction." Contradictions are universally found in all things in the world, including Nature, human society and human thought. Every thing is composed of contradictory opposites and there is unity as well as struggle among them, thus impelling the uninterrupted motion and transformation of the thing. For example, there are opposing classes in class society, and there are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist society. These two opposing classes struggle against each other but are also inter-dependent, thus giving rise to the capitalist society. This is the unity of opposites.

The unity of opposites generally embodies the conditions of two aspects--first, the existence of each of the two opposing aspects presupposes the existence of the other aspect; second, in given conditions, each transforms itself into its opposite.

The unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and transient and is consequently relative, while the struggle of opposites is absolute. For example, the capitalist society owes its existence to the opposition of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but there is violent struggle between them. Since the bourgeoisie wants to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat, and the latter offers resistance, this is class struggle. The continued intensification of such class struggle will necessarily end in the proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the socialist society based on proletarian dictatorship. Under such circumstances, the two contradictory aspects are transformed in opposite directions resulting in the transformation of the oppressed proletariat into the ruling class and the bourgeoisie which was formerly the ruling class into the ruled.

In the socialist society, although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, yet due to the existence of its remnants and influence, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is not completely solved. The bourgeoisie still attempts to make the contradiction transform itself in the other direction, that is to restore its former rule and realize capitalist restoration, while the proletariat wants to consolidate its own dictatorship. Consequently, there is still class struggle and serious class struggle in the socialist society, and this contradiction is principally still one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that manifests itself in the question of the struggle between the two roads and the struggle between the two lines within the Party.

In such class struggle, should the proletariat lower its guard and fail to handle those contradictions correctly, it would give rise to another transformation that would lead to the loss of its standing as the ruling class.

Of course, the proletariat occupies the leading position in the socialist society, and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist factors are expanding with each passing day, while the capitalist factors are shrinking every day until they are wiped out. So long as the proletariat is able to grasp and handle correctly the class contradictions and class struggle under socialist conditions, it can bring about the transition of socialism to communism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of nature and of society and therefore also the fundamental law of thought." Precisely through employing such a fundamental law for observing things to observe the contradictions in Chinese society, Chairman Mao has guided the Chinese people to carry out the revolution and win one great victory after another. After the seizure of political power by the Chinese people,

through employing this fundamental law to observe the contradictions of the socialist society, Chairman Mao has pointed out the existence at all times of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist society and created the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has himself led a great proletarian cultural revolution to guard against the restoration of capitalism in China.

*

Materialistic Dialectics

(唯物辯証法)

Materialistic dialectics is also called Marxist dialectics. It is a sharp weapon employed by the proletariat and its political party to observe and transform the world and to guide the revolution.

To put it simply, the most fundamental theory of materialistic dialectics is that nothing is changeless in the world and that all things follow the course of emergence, development and extinction. At the same time, materialistic dialectics holds "that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in its relations with other things; in other words, the development of things should be seen as their internal and necessary self-movement, while each thing in its movement is interrelated with and interacts on the things around it. The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing. There is internal contradiction in every single thing, hence its motion and development." (Chairman Mao: "On Contradiction") This means to say, we should proceed from the viewpoint of development and change to observe things; we should proceed from analyzing the contradictions in the things themselves to study the fundamental cause of the motion and development of things. The law of contradiction in things, that is, the law of the unity of opposites, is the core of materialistic dialectics.

Materialistic dialectics is opposed to idealism and metaphysical materialism (or mechanistic materialism). The difference lies in the fundamentally different way of looking at the law of things. For example, what is the world like? From ancient to modern times, there are three principal answers. The first one is based on idealism; it says that the world is made by the mind which can be extended to imply that it is created by God. The second one is based on mechanistic materialism; it denies that the world is a mental one and says that it is a world of matter, but matter cannot be developed or transformed. The third one is the Marxist answer; it overthrows the first two answers by saying that the world is made neither by the mind nor of matter that cannot be developed, but is a world of matter that can be developed. This is materialistic dialectics.

Our great leader Chairman Mao comprehends most profoundly and applies best Marxist dialectics. Furthermore, he has creatively developed it in a big way, and especially in the field of practice he has creatively

employed materialistic dialectics to solve the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and hence won one great victory after another for the revolutionary and construction cause of China.

*

Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right Opportunist Line

(陈独秀的右倾机会主义路线)

When the Chinese Communist Party was founded, Ch'en Tu-hsiu served as General Secretary. During the latter period of the Great Revolution from 1924 to 1927, the Right opportunist thought represented by Ch'en Tu-hsiu occupied the leading position within the Party and consequently gave rise to the capitulationist line. They abandoned the leadership over the peasant masses, and the petty and intermediate bourgeoisie in the city--especially the leadership over the armed forces. They held that the strength of the Chinese bourgeoisie was more concentrated than the peasants and greater than the workers, and consequently the democratic revolution of the Chinese bourgeoisie should be led by the bourgeoisie. They advanced the slogan of "leaving all work to the Kuomintang, thus liquidating the independence and leadership of the proletariat and its political party at the revolutionary united front.

Because of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's concession and compromise, Chiang Kai-shek launched a number of attacks in succession against the Chinese Communist Party. We did not counterattack as we should have, and as a result, Chiang Kai-shek engineered on April 12, 1927 in Shanghai the counterrevolutionary rebellion and the massacre of the communists. Following this, massacre was also carried out at Changsha, Wuhan, Nanchang and other places. During the period, more than one million revolutionaries were murdered! The whole country was at the mercy of White Terror and the Great Revolution ended in failure.

After the failure of the 1927 Revolution, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and his handful of capitulationists, pessimistic and disappointed with the future of the revolution, became liquidationists. They adopted the Trotskyite reactionary stand and ganged up with the Trotskyites to form an anti-Party group. Because of this, he was expelled from the Party in November 1929.

*

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Li Li-san's "Left" Opportunist Line

(瞿秋白、李立三"左"倾机会主义路线)

The Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai "Left" adventurist line emerged at the end of 1927 through the beginning of 1928, and this was the "Left" opportunist line that emerged for the first time within the Chinese Communist Party. The formation of this erroneous line was principally due to the rapid development of the "Left"-deviation disposition within the Party caused by

petty-bourgeois impetuosity as a result of the failure of the Great Revolution brought about by Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism and Chiang Kai-shek's policy of massacre. This kind of "Left"-deviation disposition went on to develop after the "August 7 Conference," and when the enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee headed by Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai was held in November 1927, the "Left" adventurist line was formed and the "Left"-deviation line played the dominant role for the first time within the leading organs of the Party Central Committee.

The most important mistake of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's "Left" adventurism lay in its refusal to acknowledge the failure of the revolution in 1927. As a consequence, instead of organizing an orderly retreat, the superiority of the enemy and the low morale of the masses were ignored, and a small number of Party members and the masses throughout the country were ordered to organize local uprisings that had no hope of victory, thus bringing further losses to the revolutionary forces preserved after the failure of the Great Revolution.

Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's erroneous line was criticized and repudiated by Chairman Mao from the beginning. The erroneous line suffered numerous setbacks in practical work, and by the beginning of 1928, many places had ceased to carry out this "Left"-deviation line. By April in the same year, the line basically came to its end throughout the country.

Li Li-san's "Left" opportunism occurred in the four months after June 1930. At the time, Li Li-san was the most important leader of the Party Central Committee. Hence the name of "Li-san line." Li Li-san acted in contravention of the guideline of the 6th National Congress of the Party. He refused to acknowledge the imbalance between the revolutionary need to prepare the mass force and the development of the revolution, and preposterously denounced Chairman Mao's thought of paying principal attention to creating rural bases over a protracted period, encircling the city with the countryside, and impelling the revolutionary upsurge throughout the country with such bases as so-called "extremely wrong provincialism and conversatism of the peasant consciousness." He advocated that all places in the country must be prepared to engineer uprisings at once. Guided by this erroneous thought, Li Li-san formulated the adventurist plan of organizing at once armed uprisings in all key cities throughout the country. Li Li-san did not acknowledge the imbalance of the world revolution and he held that the general outbreak of revolution in China would necessarily lead to the general outbreak of the world revolution, and that the Chinese revolution could succeed only in the general outbreak of the world revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the period of the Li Li-san line in 1930, Comrade Li Li-san failed to understand the protracted nature of China's civil war and for that reason did not perceive the law that in the course of this war there is repetition over a long period of 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and their defeat....Hence, in an attempt to achieve rapid victory for the revolution, he ordered the Red Army, which

was then still in its infancy, to attack Wuhan, and also ordered a nation-wide armed uprising. Thus he committed the error of 'Left' opportunism." As a consequence, the revolution suffered heavy losses.

*

Wang Ming's Opportunist Line That Deviated to the "Left" at First, But Subsequently to the Right

(王明的先是"左"倾後是右倾的机会主义路线)

This refers to Wang Ming's (Ch'en Shao-yü 陈绍禹) "Left" opportunist line that was first formulated and carried out during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War and his Right opportunist line that was subsequently formulated and carried out during the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan.

Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line held sway in the Party for four whole years from January 1931 to January 1935. It brought serious losses to the revolution. During the period, the loss of Party forces amounted to almost 100 percent in the White area and to 90 percent in the Soviet area.

At the time of criticizing the mistakes of Wang Ming's "Left"-deviation line Chairman Mao said: "Especially at the latter stage of the agrarian revolution, due to the failure to understand the two basic characteristics of the Chinese revolution--the Chinese revolution is the bourgeois democratic revolution of a semi-colonial country and the protracted nature of the revolution--many ultra-Left policies appeared, for example, to regard the struggle between the fifth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and opposition to the fifth 'encirclement and suppression' campaign as a so-called battle of decision between the revolutionary road and the counter-revolutionary road, to wipe out economically the bourgeoisie (ultra-Left labor policy and taxation policy) and the rich peasants (distfibution of land), to wipe out physically the landlords (non-distribution of land), to deal blows to the intellectuals, to practice 'Left' deviation in the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, to carry out the complete monopoly of political power by communists and the communist object of national education, the ultra-Left military policy (invading big cities and rejecting guerrilla warfare), the adventurist policy in work in the White area, and the policy of striking blows organizationally within the Party. All these policies cannot be adopted today during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and it was also a mistake to adopt them in the past."

During the period Wang Ming's "Left"-deviation line held sway in the Party, the correct revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao waged a resolute struggle against the erroneous line of the "Left." People opposed and called for the rectification of the "Left"-deviation line. Instead of accepting Chairman Mao's correct view, Wang Ming overthrew the correct leadership in all places. However, because the "Left"-deviation

line suffered one defeat after another in practical work, and especially because of the failure of the fifth counter "encirclement and suppression" campaign in the area where the Central Committee was located, widespread suspicion and dissatisfaction arose within the Party. By January 1953, the broad masses of the cadres and Party members opposing the "Left"-deviation line finally rallied around Chairman Mao. At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee convened at Tsunyi city in Kweichow province, the leadership of Chairman Mao in the whole Party was definitely established, thus ending the rule of the Wang Ming "Left"-deviation line in the Party Central Committee and saving the Party and the revolution at the most critical juncture.

Wang Ming's Right opportunist line was formed at the end of 1937. At the time, as soon as he came home from abroad, he firmly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and especially the principle of upholding the independence of the Communist Party on the national united front for resistance against Japan put forward by Chairman Mao. The most important mistake of this Right-deviation line was that it made concessions to the anti-people policy of the Kuomintang, trusted the Kuomintang more than the masses of the people, dared not boldly arouse the struggle of the masses, dared not enlarge the liberated area and the people's armed forces in the Japanese occupied area, and handed over to the Kuomintang the leadership in the war of resistance against Japan. At the end of 1937, when Wang Ming was in charge of the Yangtze River Bureau, he obstinately implemented his erroneous line in the area under his control. As a result, the development of the anti-Japanese forces along the Yangtze River basin was seriously hampered. The biggest evil fruit was that when Chiang Kai-shek engineered the South Anhwei coup in January 1941, the New Fourth Army in South Anhwei was caught unprepared, and 9,000 men were lost as a result.

*

Chang Kuo-t'ao's Line To Disrupt the Red Army

(张国焘的分裂红军的路线)

Chang Kuo-t'ao is a renegade to the Chinese revolution. In his earlier years, he speculated on revolution and joined the Chinese Communist Party. He made many most serious mistakes in the Party and brought great losses to the Party. The most serious one was his line to disrupt the Red Army.

After the Tsunyi Conference in January 1935, the Red Army continued with its Long March to the north. On June 16 in the same year, the First Area Army proceeding from the Central Soviet Area and the Fourth Area Army led by Chang Kuo-t'ao from the Szechwan-Shensi Border Region Base joined forces at Moukung in West Szechwan. After the joining of forces, Chairman Mao advocated, in accordance with his analysis of the situation of the whole nation, that the Red Army should continue with the march northward to resist Japan. However, Chang Kuo-t'ao opposed this correct policy of Chairman Mao's. He exaggerated the strength of the enemy and was of the view that

it was not possible to go northward to resist Japan and to establish a revolutionary base in the north. Consequently, he advocated that the Red Army should march to the south and retreat to the minority nationalities area between Szechwan and Sikang. This actually was escapism. In September the same year, he even threatened the Central Committee with his troops and wanted to reorganize the Central Committee. After the failure of this plot, with no regard for the consequences, he disobeyed the order of the Central Committee and arbitrarily led the Fourth Area Army toward Sikang. There he set up a bogus Central Committee, thus disrupting the unity of the Party and the Red Army and bringing heavy losses to the Fourth Area Army of the Red Army.

*

P'eng Te-huai, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih's Right Opportunist Anti-Party Alliance

(彭德怀、高岗、饶漱石右倾机会主义反党联盟)

Beginning in 1949, Kao Kang carried out conspiratorial activities for the purpose of seizing Party and state leadership. He regarded the Northeast as his independent kingdom. After his transfer to the Central Committee in 1953, his anti-Party activities became even more rampant. He actually attempted to incite Party members working in armed forces to support his plot against the Party Central Committee.

Jao Shu-shih was the principal ally in Kao Kang's conspiratorial activities against the Party. During the ten years from 1943 to 1953, he made use of despicable and deceitful means on a number of occasions within the Party in order to seize power. While he was working in East China, he adopted the Right-deviation policy of capitulation to the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants in the cities and the countryside, and he also tried his utmost to protect the counterrevolutionaries. After his transfer to the Central Committee in 1953, he formed with Kao Kang an anti-Party alliance and utilized his functions as Director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee to carry out energetically activities for disrupting the Party.

The National Representative Conference of the Chinese Communist Party held on March 21 through 31 in 1955 exposed the criminal activities of the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance clique, and resolved to expel Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih from the Party and to relieve them from all offices inside and outside the Party.

Later, it was found out that P'eng Te-huai was the "commander-in-chief" of the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance, and that the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance was actually the anti-Party alliance of P'eng Te-huai, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.

Renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i was the general backstage boss of this anti-Party alliance. In the struggle against the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance, renegade, hidden traitor and scab

Liu Shao-ch'i resorted to the counterrevolutionary double-dealing tactics of false criticism and genuine sheltering. Later, P'eng Te-huai, the arch criminal in the Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih alliance, became a leading member of the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i.

*

"Theory of the Dying Out of Class Struggle"

("階级鬥爭熄滅論")

The so-called "theory of the dying out of class struggle" is one of the sinister "six theories" of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. It obliterates the fact that there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of means of production in China, at the crucial moment of the violent struggle between the two classes, the two roads, Chairman Mao summed up in a series of brilliant works the historical experience of international proletarian dictatorship, and scientifically, systematically and profoundly demonstrated the contradictions, classes and class struggle of socialist society. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that in socialist society "the class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute."

However, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i consistently denied the existence of classes and class struggle. Especially after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of means of production in China, he jumped forward again and again and made every effort to advertize the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." He talked nonsense saying that "the enemy at home has been basically wiped out" and that "the question of who will win, socialism or capitalism, has now been settled." This meant to say that contradictions had disappeared, there were no more classes, and the class struggle had gone extinct.

Back in the 1930's, Bukharin, Soviet renegade to the proletariat, had put forward the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." Later, the Khrushchev modern revisionist clique utilized this fallacy to hoodwink the Soviet people and hence to enforce capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

It can be seen from this that Liu Shao-ch'i and all new and old-time revisionists are birds of a feather. The "theory of the dying out of class struggle" advertized by Liu Shao-ch'i is entirely deceitful talk aimed at

creating public opinion to benumb the proletariat and the working people and lower their guard so that he might carry out capitalist restoration in China.

*

"Theory of Docile Tool"

("驯服工具論")

The "theory of docile tool" is one of the sinister "six theories" cast forth by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and known for their flagrant wickedness. Prior to liberation, Liu Shao-ch'i had done his utmost to advertize among the communists the fallacy of "absolute obedience" that advocated "what is wrong must also be obeyed." After liberation, Liu Shao-ch'i became even more flagrant by expanding the theory of "absolute obedience" into the "theory of docile tool." He wanted to turn communists not only into "tools that are easy to control" but also into "docile tools." This meant to say turning a communist able to think into a thoughtless tool, one with slave mentality, and making communists discard the principle to obey the "organization," in a vain attempt to make communists and cadres slide down the road of capitalist restoration engineered by him.

The feudal emperors and princes, landlords and colonialists of the past always devised all ways and means to hoodwink the people and turn the people into "submissive persons." Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacious theory of "docile tools" is of one and the same vein with the note struck by those exploiting classes.

The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over...on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness." Chairman Mao has the greatest faith in the masses, and he teaches the communists and cadres that in the revolutionary struggle, they must at all times firmly cling to the truth and "should not unconditionally accept but should firmly boycott the erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution."

*

"Theory of the Masses Are Backward"

("羣众落後論")

The "theory of the masses are backward" is one of the sinister "six theories" advertized by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Its principal content vilifies the masses as "backward" and its essence creates the theoretical basis for him to control and suppress the masses and to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line.

Liu Shao-ch'i talked nonsense saying that the Chinese working class was "stronger in guild mentality and hooliganism" and he maliciously spread the fallacy that "it must not be thought that reliance on the working class is without problems." He used "dispersionism, conservatism, narrow-mindedness, backwardness" and a string of terms to denote the "backwardness" of the peasantry. All this was used by Liu Shao-ch'i to vilify blatantly the workers, peasants and other revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." "The working class is most far-sighted, just and fair and most thoroughly revolutionary." "We must wholeheartedly rely on the working class." He points out that the poor and lower-middle peasants "are the natural and most reliable ally of the proletariat." The struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line finds concentrated expression in the question of attitude toward the masses. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line trusts and relies on the masses and respects the initiative of the masses. Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary line trusts only the bourgeoisie but not the masses, relies on only the bourgeoisie but not the masses, and exercises bourgeois dictatorship over the masses. By making every effort to advertize the "theory of the masses are backward," they want the masses of the people not to rise in rebellion against the reactionaries, in struggle and in revolution, but submissively let them restore capitalism.

*

"Theory of Joining the Party in Order To Be an Official"

("入党做官論")

The "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" is one of the sinister "six theories" spread by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i with an intention to corrupt the souls of the communists politically and organizationally and make preparations for capitalist restoration. He talked nonsense saying: "While tests were conducted for hsiu ts'ai in the past, tests are now conducted for members of the Communist Party." "In the past, people sat for tests for hsiu ts'ai in order to be officials; now they join the Party in order to be officials." He thus laid bare his feudal and bourgeois reactionary thought of becoming officials and lords.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us saying: "We communists want not to be officials but to make revolution, everyone of us must possess the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, and we must not cut ourselves off from the masses for a moment."

To become officials and lords or the service personnel of the people is the touchstone for distinguishing the genuine revolutionaries from the sham revolutionaries. Thousands of communists in China live to fight for the revolution and die for the revolutionary cause. They wholeheartedly

serve the people and fight all their lives for realizing the magnificent communist cause. All of them are Chairman Mao's good fighters.

*

"Theory of Peace within the Party"

("党内和平论")

The "theory of peace within the Party" is one of the sinister "six theories" advertized by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. Liu Shao-ch'i was opposed to constantly carrying out ideological struggle and the struggle in line within the Party. He held that inner-Party struggle was not something that "must be carried out under whatever conditions," but was something that "must be carried out properly and in a concrete manner." He taught Party members to exercise "forbearance," "suffer wrong in the general interest" and "make compromise" so as to seek "peace within the Party." This also meant he wanted unprincipled peace.

He tried his utmost to deny and obliterate the class essence of the struggle within the Party. He said that the root cause of the struggle within the Party lay in the different ways problems were viewed and handled by Party members, thus giving rise to different kinds of opinion, divergence in views, and disputes. He described the struggle between the two lines within the Party as a struggle between different kinds of viewpoint.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The antagonism and struggle of different ideas constantly occur within the Party, and this is a reflection of the class contradiction of society and the contradiction between new and old things within the Party." "...Ideological struggle is positive because it is a weapon for attaining unity within the Party and the revolutionary body to facilitate fighting. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon." "If there were no contradiction within the Party and there were no ideological struggle to solve the contradiction, the life of the Party would come to an end."

The facts show that genuine revolutionaries never fear struggle within the Party. On the contrary, they always actively take part in the struggle within the Party, transform their objective world in the struggle and at the same time also transform their own subjective world.

Fearing that his counterrevolutionary identity might be exposed in the struggle within the Party, Liu Shao-ch'i advocated "peace within the Party" so as to cover up himself. On the other hand, he vainly attempted to make the broad masses of Party member to forget the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads in the peaceful atmosphere so as to enable him to attain the conspiratorial aim of recruiting deserters and turncoats, forming factions for selfish ends and usurping leadership in the Party and the government to restore capitalism.

*

"Theory of Fusing Public and Private Interests"

("公私溶化論")

By advertizing the "complete agreement" and "complete fusion" of public and private interests in his "theory of fusing public and private interests"--one of the sinister "six theories" advertized by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i--he essentially advertized his bourgeois individualism in a vain attempt to liquidate the struggle for the destruction of private interests and the establishment of public interests, and the struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook.

Liu Shao-ch'i advertized the "complete agreement" and "complete fusion" of public and private interests. Flaunting the signboard of "fusing public and private interests, his true aim was to promote his private interests under the guise of serving the public and to harm public interests. He confessed that his joining the Party was for the purpose of solving his personal problems saying: "Seeing that personal problems cannot be solved anyway, it is better to solve the problem of the country first. With the problems of the country and society solved, personal problems are also solved." He openly declared: "The concentration of personal interests is collective interest." "Without the interests of the individual, there are not the interests of the whole...." Therefore, instead of public interests without private interests, there are private interests in public interests, and public and private interests must be taken care of concurrently. Every word had something to do with self and every sentence gives prominence to personal interests. Personal interests are everything and everything for personal interests. This is the quintessence of his "theory of fusing public and private interests."

He also told people "to suffer a little" in order "to gain much." He taught that people must not be afraid of "hardship" and must "bear responsibility and blame" in order "to go far in the future." Proceeding from "self" (personal interests) but flaunting the signboard of "public interests" (interests of the Party and the people), he regarded the cause of the Party and the people as the tool and the ladder for climbing upward and attaining the "selfish" aim in the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "At no time and in no circumstances should a communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses." He teaches that we must "completely" and "thoroughly" serve the people.

Bandit Liu's so-called "theory of fusing public and private interests" is extremely reactionary and opposed to Mao Tsetung thought. By advertizing this reactionary thought, his objective was to create public opinion for restoring capitalism.

*

Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun

(枪杆子裏面出政权)

On November 6, 1958, Chairman Mao advanced in his brilliant article "Problems of War and Strategy" this famous truth that can be accurately applied everywhere in the world.

Historical experience tells us that for the sake of upholding their reactionary rule and ruthless plunder, the class enemies at home and abroad always adopt the double-dealing tactics of deception and suppression to deal with the people. Should the oppressed nations and oppressed people refuse to be deceived, any slight resistance would promptly be subject to the sanguinary suppression of the reactionary troops and police. Apart from opposing counterrevolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces and seizing political power with guns, there is no other way for the people to free themselves from the feudal yoke and win liberation.

Chairman Mao says: "The whole world can only be transformed with guns." "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution.

Whether or not a political party of the proletariat acknowledge and carries out the truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is the touchstone for testing whether this political party is truly revolutionary or feigns to be revolutionary.

The revisionists of the present and the past, of China and other countries all oppose the control of the gun by the proletariat. They advocate the "parliamentary road," peddle "peaceful transition" and advertize that "so long as the proletariat is in the majority in the parliaments, it is equal to its having seized political power and smashed the state machinery of the bourgeoisie" and other preposterous theories.

Lenin long ago sharply charged that the "parliamentary road" was actually the betrayal of the revolution. The facts show that in the capitalist countries even some political parties that are recognized to have so-called "legal status" also could have such "legal status" abolished at any time by the reactionary rulers controlling the state machinery. Consequently, the call for the abandonment of armed struggle and blind faith in the so-called "parliamentary road" essentially seeks to give up the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and is an out-and-out capitulationist line of counterrevolutionary opportunism.

This great revolutionary truth of "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is being taken up today by more and more of the oppressed people and oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, the people of Asia, Africa

and Latin America, taking up arms, are striking heavy blows at the plots of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism that vainly attempt to redivide the world, and are dealing decisive and crashing blows to the whole old world. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and a new world will also come from the barrel of a gun.

*

Social Imperialism, Social-Fascism

(社会帝国主义、社会法西斯主义)

Social-imperialism is imperialism flaunting the banner of "socialism." After its usurping of leadership in the Party and the state, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only ruthlessly exploited and sanguinarily suppressed the broad masses of laboring people and completely restored capitalism at home, but has at the same time frenziedly carried out the imperialist policy of aggression abroad and stepped up its collaboration with US imperialism in a vain attempt to redivide the world. It regards some countries as its own colonies and practices ruthless plunder and enslavement there. It also infiltrates into and control some countries by way of so-called economic "aid" and "military aid." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique dispatched several hundred thousand troops to occupy Czechoslovakia and recently carried out armed provocations against the Chinese territory of Chenpao Island. This has most thoroughly bared the ugly look of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism.

Social-fascism is fascism flaunting the banner of socialism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique flaunts the banner of socialism to hoodwink and fool the Soviet people but actually carries out sanguinary fascist dictatorship. Over the past few years, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique not only has concocted one after another fascist "decrees" and "regulations," but also has strengthened its control of the people with troops, police and secret agents, reinforced the prisons and law courts and set up "asylums" in a vain attempt to suppress and persecute with terrorist means of arrest, imprisonment and massacre the Soviet people who dare to rise in resistance. These frenzied actions of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique have thoroughly exposed the ugly look of its social-fascism and will further incite the Soviet people into making even more extensive and violent revolution.

*

Satellites

(附庸国)

Satellites refer to some countries that are independent in form but are actually under the control of imperialism or social-imperialism in the political, military and economic fields and have lost their sovereignty.

In this sense, satellites are the same as the semi-colonial countries. For example, US imperialism has turned into satellites many countries in Asia and Latin America and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism has turned many countries in Eastern Europe into their satellites.

*

Imperialist Wars

(帝国主义战争)

Imperialist wars are wars fought by the monopoly capital cliques of imperialist countries for the plunder and oppression of colonies and other countries and for contending with the monopoly cliques of other imperialist countries for colonies and markets. They include the imperialist wars of aggression against other countries and wars between imperialist countries.

Lenin said that imperialism means war and that "so long as there is still the system of private ownership of means of production, imperialist wars are inevitable." Lenin at the same time pointed out that "imperialist war is the eve of socialist revolution." This is because imperialist wars will necessarily be opposed by the masses of the people, thus leading to revolution. The revolution of the masses will lead to the overthrow of imperialist rule and the end of war. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution, and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." If imperialism, revisionism and reaction arbitrarily impose war on the world people, the people of the whole world would rise more swiftly in revolution and bury imperialism, revisionism and reaction in the end.

*

Strategy and Tactics

(战略战术)

Strategy and tactics are both military terms. But in political struggle, it is likewise necessary to study and perfect carefully strategy and tactics.

In the military sense, strategy is the general art and general plan for determining the whole action in battle. Tactics are the steps and methods taken in concrete action to comply with the strategy. Tactics are employed flexibly in accordance with the difference in conditions, in time and in locality to achieve the objective stipulated in the strategy.

Chairman Mao says: "The task of the science of strategy is to study those laws for directing a war that govern a war situation as a whole.

The task of the science of campaigns and science of tactics is to study those laws for directing a war that govern a partial situation."

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, based on his analysis of the enemy situation and ours, Chairman Mao affirmed that "although guerrilla warfare is basic yet mobile warfare is not ignored under favorable conditions." This was strategy, the strategic policy of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army led by the Chinese Communist Party against the Japanese aggressor army.

As far back as the early stage of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao put forward a formula comprising sixteen Chinese characters--"The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This was tactics, the basic tactics of the guerrilla bands.

In political struggle, strategy is the general policy and general program for guiding the mobilization of the masses to seize political power. Tactics are the methods, organizations and slogans determined for a certain stage of struggle in accordance with the actual situation and the general program.

Chairman Mao says: "Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy in respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously in respect to each and every concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy in respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plow the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly--we know we can finish it. But actually we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one." Chairman Mao thus explained with popular and lively language the relationship between strategy and tactics.

*

The Baton

(指揮棒)

The baton is a tool for guiding certain action. For example, the various musicians of the orchestra must regulate their performance in pitch, in loudness and in tempo according to the direction of the baton of the

conductor. Some countries have lost their independence in internal and foreign affairs and have to act in accordance with the instruction and intention of another country. This is called obeying the baton. This lively term is thus used to illustrate the relationship between imperialism and its satellites.

After the Second World War, by way of its control in the political, military and economic spheres, US imperialism regarded itself as the overlord, wielded its baton to give orders, and required other imperialist countries and capitalist countries to serve its interests. In recent years, however, hit by the revolutionary storm of the people of the whole world, difficulties have grown and contradictions have become more acute within the imperialist camps, and consequently the baton of US imperialism has become less and less effective.

This is also true with Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Closely colluding but also contending with US imperialism, it consistently carries out big-nation chauvinism and national egoism in a vain attempt to turn other countries into its satellites and colonies, exercise ever stronger control over them, and require them to obey its orders. But where there is oppression, there is also resistance, and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, the struggle of the revolutionary people all over the world becomes ever more violent. Since the various countries and parties of the revisionist clique are also beset with difficulties, the baton wielded by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also become less and less effective.

*

The Two Hands of Counterrevolution

(反革命的两手)

A man has two hands. In work, the movement of the two hands obeys the command of the brain, and they move to realize a certain intention of the brain. For the sake of attaining their counterrevolutionary aims, the reactionary classes always employ the two hands of counterrevolution. These are the hangman's hand for violent suppression and the pastor's hand for deception. To rule the people of various countries, US imperialism holds a "big stick" in one hand and a "carrot" in another. It always makes alternate use of such two hands and supplements one with the other in order to realize its counterrevolutionary objective.

In the war of aggression against Vietnam, when the "big stick"--the policy of war--is frustrated again and again and the situation grows more and more unfavorable, US imperialism extends the hand holding of "carrot," disguises itself with the "peace-loving" mantle and engineers the "peace talk" swindle in a vain attempt to fool the Vietnamese people and get what they cannot get in the battlefield. The object of both the hand holding the "big stick" and the hand holding the "carrot" is to continue with the enslavement of the Vietnamese people for US imperialism.

Of the two hands, the one imperialism and reaction rely on is always the hangman's hand of violence, and the pastor's hand of deception only plays a supplementary role to violence.

British imperialism also adopts such two hands of counterrevolution to rule Hong Kong. On the one hand, it strengthens such tools of suppression as the police, the secret agents, the law court and the prison, shoots at, beats up and arrests our patriotic compatriots, and subjects the working masses to all kinds of brutal persecution. On the other hand, it adopts the tactics of kind treatment, reform, deception and cajolement to benumb our compatriots so as to attain its aim of unbridled plunder and domination.

The revolutionary people must stay sober toward the two hands of counterrevolution. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Don't trust the 'good words' of imperialism and don't be scared by its threats." "It is imperative to give tit for tat." This means adopting the two hands of revolution against the two hands of counterrevolution.

*

"Theory of Limited Sovereignty"

("有限主权论")

The "theory of limited sovereignty" is a "theory" concocted by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to "legalize" its ambitions for aggression and expansion. Dulles, a chieftain of US imperialism now dead, was one who most energetically advocated the "theory of limited sovereignty."

According to the gangster logic of the Soviet revisionist renegades' "theory of limited sovereignty," the sovereignty of other countries is "limited," but the sovereignty of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is "without limits." Soviet revisionist social-imperialism may arbitrarily expand its own "sovereignty" to other countries and the whole world, while the sovereignty of other countries should comply with the Soviet revisionist need for foreign aggression and expansion and for building the hegemony of social-imperialism.

*

"Theory of International Dictatorship"

("国际专政论")

The gangster theme of "international dictatorship" signifies the vain attempt of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique to extend its counter-revolutionary bourgeois dictatorship at home to other countries and to exercise counterrevolutionary "dictatorship" over the people of various countries.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique is in control of immeasurable political, military and economic powers in some Eastern European countries and in the People's Republic of Mongolia. It utilizes the "Council for Economic Mutual Aid and Cooperation" to carry out the policies of social-imperialism, ruthlessly exploit the people of these countries, wantonly trample underfoot the sovereignty of these countries, and turn such countries into its satellites and colonies. The plunder and squeezing by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has encountered greater and greater resistance from the broad masses of the people in these countries. Under the pretext that "the security of the big family" was menaced, the Soviet Union sent several hundred thousand troops to carry out armed aggression and military occupation in Czechoslovakia. The "theory of international dictatorship" is for creating a "theoretical" basis to "legalize" the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's practice of plunder, aggression and suppression against the people of other countries, and even the practice of military occupation.

The "theory of international dictatorship" advocated by Soviet revisionism is one and the same thing as the formation of an "international government" advocated by US imperialism after the Second World War. It is also entirely one and the same thing as the signboard of "European New Order" flaunted by German fascism for frenziedly carrying out aggression against other countries and the "Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity" established by the Japanese bandits that carried out aggression against China and other countries in Southeast Asia.

*

"Theory of the Big Family of Socialism"

("社会主义大家庭論")

Flaunting the signboard of "socialism," those of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique are committing the sins of imperialism. On the one hand, they closely collaborate with US imperialism to suppress the revolution carried out by the people of various countries. On the other hand, they desperately expand their own colonial influence to establish its own world hegemony. In Asia, they regard the People's Republic of Mongolia as their own colony, and in Europe, they regard many Eastern European countries as their own satellites. The Soviet revisionists advocate the "theory of the big family of socialism" in order to create a "theoretical" basis for "legalizing" such imperialist policies of aggression and plunder and for turning these members of the "big family" forever into their own colonies and satellites.

Flaunting the signboard of "the big family of socialism," Soviet revisionism also assumes the role of "patriarch" and exercises complete control over the political, military and economic affairs of the "big family." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique controls the domestic and foreign policies of the member states of the "big family" through puppets groomed and backed up by it. It stations heavy armed forces in the member states

of the "big family" through the "Warsaw Treaty" and also controls the economic life-blood of the member states of the "big family" through the "Council for Economic Mutual Aid and Cooperation," bilateral pacts, loans, etc., thus turning these member states into its sources of supply of raw materials and market for its commodities.

Last year, under the pretext of giving "first place" to the interests of the socialist big family, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique baldly carried out armed aggression against Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet revisionist "theory of the big family of socialism" is one and the same thing as the imperialist gangster logic of "the big family of the free world" and "subordination of the national interests to the interests of the big family of the world."

*

"European New Order"

("欧洲新秩序")

The "European New Order" was the notorious policy of aggression schemed by Hitler during the Second World War in a vain attempt to annex Europe. The core of its thought was to "oppose communism."

In order to safeguard the interests of the financial oligarchy in his own country, Hitler utilized the fear and hate of communism by the bourgeois authorities in the United States, Britain and other Western countries. Flaunting the banner of defending "Western civilization" and in the name of opposing communism, he was helped overtly and covertly by the monopoly capitalist cliques in the United States and Britain to carry out rearmament and to rehabilitate the military potentials of Germany. He pieced together a military junta for aggression, annexed Austria and nibbled away Czechoslovakia. He carried out his "European New Order," occupied France and finally launched attack against Poland and the Soviet Union, thus starting the Second World War.

In accordance with the provisions of the "European New Order," wherever Hitler's troops went, the Germans became the "ruling nation" responsible for organization, administration and operations, and other European people could only do rear-area work for the German army according to the fascist system. The anti-fascist war of the world people finally defeated Hitler and cast the "European New Order" into the dustbin.

*

"Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity"

("大东亚共荣圈")

The "Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity" was the colonial expansionist plan of Japanese imperialism during the Second World War. This term came from a statement made in 1940 by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke of the Second Konoe Cabinet of Japan. The targets for "construction" included by Japanese imperialism in the "Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity" were Japan, Korea, "Manchuria," China, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaya, Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), British Borneo, New Guinea, Dutch Timor and the coastal area of the Soviet Union. But in one map, "Great East Asia" also included New Zealand, Burma, the eastern part of Siberia, the United States, South America, India, Iran, the Arabian countries and Southeast Africa.

The "Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity" was put forward at a time Japan was frenziedly carrying out aggression against China and was plotting to start the Pacific War.

Because of the victory of the anti-fascist war of the people of China and other countries, the Japanese imperialist pipe-dream of the "Great East Asia Sphere of Co-Prosperity" was smashed.

*

"Big Family of the Free World"

("自由世界大家庭")

After his inauguration in 1961, US President Kennedy who was later assassinated, promptly played up a set of so-called foreign policies for setting up the "big family of the free world" and "good world order." This set of policies actually sought to create a theoretical "basis" for the United States to carry out intensive armaments expansion and war preparations, arbitrarily encroach upon the territories of other countries and intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries in a vain attempt to exercise world hegemony.

Under the pretext of setting up the "big family of the free world," US imperialism carried out armaments expansion and war preparations. At the time US Secretary of State Rusk openly declared time and again that in its efforts to set up this "big family of the world," the United States must have "adequate (armed) forces" and must "maintain an enormous and varied arsenal of arms." At the same time, US imperialism must carry out intervention in other countries under the pretext of protecting the "vital interests" of the United States. The dispatch of an army several hundred thousand strong by US imperialism to carry out aggression against South Vietnam is a concrete case in point.

In the name of the "big family of the free world," US imperialism also intensified its control over the so-called "free countries" of West Europe, and advocated that "national interests must submit to the interests of the big family of the world." It wanted them to pursue the policy of armaments expansion and war preparations after the United States and "do their part in sharing the common responsibility for the defense of the free world."

At the same time, US imperialism also wanted to utilize "aid" through this "big family" to control the political and economic affairs of some countries and carry out cultural infiltration so that the "aid" receiving countries might be transformed into the satellites and colonies of US imperialism.

*

"McMahon Line"

("麦克马哄线")

The British imperialists once used the extremely despicable tactics of tampering with the boundary line of China arbitrarily to impose the illegal "McMahon Line" on China. The so-called "McMahon Line" refers to the boundary line between China and India east of Bhutan, and his section of the boundary has never been officially demarcated. McMahon was the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Political Affairs of the British Colonial Government before the independence of India. He represented the British side at the Simla Conference that was arbitrarily convened by Britain in 1913 through 1914. He carried out the British policy of aggression, and he secretly concocted in 1914 the so-called "McMahon Line" with the representative of the local authorities of Tibet behind the back of the representative of the Chinese government of that time, in a vain attempt to encroach upon a large piece of Chinese territory in Tibet. The Chinese government had never recognized any Simla Treaty and the question of the so-called "McMahon Line" also had never been discussed at the Simla Conference. Even the Indian government did not deny that the so-called "McMahon Line" had never been recognized by the Chinese government.

*

Tsarist Russian Imperialism, Tsarist Government, the New Tsars

(沙俄帝国主義·沙皇政府,新沙皇)

Toward the end of the 19th century, Tsarist Russia developed to become militarily feudal imperialism. On the one hand, it worked in collusion with other imperialists of the West to run wild everywhere, interfere with the internal affairs of other countries, trample the sovereignty of other countries underfoot and encroach upon the territories of other countries.

On the other hand, it intensified its contest with other imperialists of the West for strategic strongholds and spheres of colonial influence. Lenin had pointed out that the policy and task of Russian imperialism in Asia was to "seize the whole of Persia and to carve up completely China."

The tsarist government was the general representative of the interests of the Russian capitalists and feudal aristocrats. Ivan IV first adopted the tsar title in 1547, and the history of Russia under the rule of the tsar lasted 370 years up to October 25, 1917 (November 7 by the Gregorian calendar). As early as the end of the 17th century, Peter the Great of Tsarist Russia resorted to aggression against other countries in an attempt to expand the territory of Tsarist Russia. Early in the 19th century, the tsarist government went further to form (in 1815) the tripartite "Holy Alliance" with Austria and Prussia. Playing the role of the general representative of the reactionary forces of the time, it rapaciously resorted to territorial expansion and attempted to build a vast colonial empire.

During the period, Tsarist Russia resorted to armed forces to coerce the Manchu authorities into signing the unequal Sino-Russian Aigun Treaty (in 1858), thus snatching away more than 600,000 square kilometers of Chinese territory north of the Amur River. Following this, it coerced the Manchu Court into signing another unequal treaty--the Sino-Russian Peking Treaty (1860)--that forcibly demarcated about 400,000 square kilometers of Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River to Russia. The tsarist government also forced the Manchu Court to lease in 1898 Port Arthur and Dairen, thus attempting to carve up China in collaboration with other powers. The tsarist government had mapped out a plan that vainly attempted to set up "Yellow Russia" in Northeast China. After it joined the allied forces of eight powers to invade China, it procrastinated in the withdrawal of its troops from the Northeast. This finally led to the Japanese-Russian War that trampled Northeast China underfoot.

After usurping Party and state power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique under Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Kosygin has caused the CPSU with its glorious revolutionary tradition to degenerate into a revisionist party or bourgeois party. Capitalism is restored, the tool of dictatorship is intensified and the discontent and resistance of the people are suppressed at home. Abroad, it carries out the policy of aggression and expansion and works in collusion with imperialism headed by US imperialism and the reactionary forces of various countries to suppress the revolutionary struggle and national liberation movement of the people of various countries in the world, in a vain attempt to redivide the world with US imperialism.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique entirely inherits the mantle of its ancestors (the old tsars) in its domestic and foreign policies. To distinguish these people from the old tsars, they are therefore called the new tsars.

*

Concessions

(租界)

Concessions were certain areas which semi-colonial countries were forced to set aside in ports and cities for "lease" to colonial countries so that the residents of the latter might have a place to reside and trade in. They were the strongholds for the colonial countries to carry out all kinds of aggression and criminal activity against the semi-colonial countries in the political, economic, cultural and military spheres. After the Opium War, the imperialists forcibly leased on the strength of unequal treaties a part of land in many trade ports of China, and such concessions were put under their direct administration. There they enforced another set of administrative systems that were entirely independent of the administrative and legal systems of China and carried out their policy of aggression. The concessions formed "states within another state" in the semi-colonial countries.

The earliest concession of the colonialists in China was set up in Shanghai. On November 29, 1845, Britain seized 830 mow of land by the side of the Whangpoo River through the unequal treaty of "Shanghai Land Regulations," and the first concession on China mainland obtained through blackmail by the imperialist aggressors was set up. Following this, the aggressors of the United States, Russia, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Japan also asked for land along the coast and rivers in China for the establishment of concessions in Tientsin, Port Arthur-Dairen, Hankow, Canton and Kiukiang.

The Chinese people waged a protracted struggle for the return of these concessions. During the Great Revolution in 1924 through 1927, the Chinese people launched the movement for the return of concessions under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and in January 1927 they secured the return of the British concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang. However, after Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution, the imperialists went on to retain their concessions in other places in China. After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, all concessions were returned to the Chinese people.

*

Memorandum

(備忘錄)

A memorandum is a form of diplomatic document simpler than a note. It is neither signed nor affixed with a seal at the end of the text.

A memorandum is commonly used in three ways: (1) It is sent as an appendix to a note for supplementing what has not been adequately discussed in the note. (2) It is sent as an independent document to remind the other side of a certain matter. (3) In diplomatic negotiations, a memorandum of the important points, which one side wants to negotiate, is prepared in advance and is handed to the other side after the negotiations.

*

Big-Nation Chauvinism

(大国沙文主义)

There was in France at the time of Napoleon I a soldier called Chauvin. He frenziedly supported Napoleon I's plan of conquest and advocated the use of violence to build a great French empire. People therefore coined the term of "chauvinism." Anyone who regards his own country or nation as above everything else and advocated the reactionary thought and reactionary policy of conquering and enslaving other countries or nations is identified with "big-nation chauvinism."

Since the 19th century, the trend of thought based on big-nation chauvinism has been especially prevalent among the imperialist countries.

The big bourgeoisie of Germany advocated "Great Germanism" in its early years. It advertized the German people as an "elite race" and attempted to redivide the colonies and make Germany lord over the world. Hitler utilized this trend of thought to help him carry out Nazi Germany's policy of aggression and annexation abroad.

In those years, the theory that the "Nipponese people" were outstanding also provided the basis for the militarists to practice foreign aggression in Japan.

The "great Slavism" advocated by Russia in the tsarist days was also a reactionary trend of thought based on big-nation chauvinism. At present, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has inherited the mantle of Tsarist Russia, and for the purpose of carrying out expansion and aggression abroad, it has fabricated many fallacies, such as the "theory of international dictatorship," the "theory of limited sovereignty for socialist countries," the "theory of the big family of socialism," for use as the theoretical basis for it to carry out aggression against fraternal countries. This is a most reactionary kind of big-nation chauvinism.

*

United Front

(统一战线)

The united front is a broad front for conducting struggle against the enemy set up by the political party leading the revolution for isolating and hitting the enemy of the revolution. By way of this front, all forces

that can be united--not including the enemy--are united together against the enemy.

At each different revolutionary period, in accordance with the different tasks of the revolution and in the light of the different argets of the revolution, the revolutionary people must form a different united front.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Chinese people formed the national united front for resistance against Japan. With the Chinese Communist Party as the core of leadership, people of all strata in society--with the exception of the Chinese traitors but including the Kuomintang people advocating resistance against Japan--resisted together Japanese imperialism's aggression against China, and victory was won in the War of Resistance Against Japan.

During the Liberation War, the Chinese people also formed the united front--with the proletariat as the leader and the laboring people as the main body--against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek, the general representative of the reactionary forces of old China and the lackey of US imperialism, was overthrown and the whole of China was liberated.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people again formed the broad patriotic, anti-imperialist united front under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance.

At present, "a new historical period for opposing US imperialism and Soviet revisionism has began," and "all nations and peoples invaded, controlled, interfered with and bullied by US imperialism and Soviet revisionism" are uniting to form the broadest united front of the world against US imperialism and Soviet revisionism. They are striving to bury US imperialism, Soviet revisionism and their lackeys.

The united front is the indispensable basic weapon for the revolutionary people to beat the enemy. The Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tsetung thought, the People's Liberation Army that fears neither hardship nor death under the leadership of such a Party, and the united front led by such a Party for uniting all forces that can be united against the enemy are the three principal magic weapons for the Chinese people to defeat the enemy in the Chinese Revolution.

*

Conventional War and Nuclear War

（常規战爭．核大战）

Weapons other than those weapons for mass destruction, such as atomic, hydrogen, bacteriological and chemical weapons, are called conventional weapons, and a war waged with conventional weapons is called a conventional war.

The term of nuclear weapons is a general description for atomic and hydrogen weapons. The use of nuclear weapons to wage war is called nuclear war.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao pointed out in his "political report" that US imperialism and Soviet revisionism were stepping up their armaments expansion and war preparations. He taught us: "On no account must we relax our revolutionary vigilance because of victory or ignore the danger of US imperialism and Soviet revisionism launching a large-scale war of aggression. We must make full preparations, preparations against their launching a big war and against their launching a war at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war."

US imperialism and Soviet revisionism resort to war threats to attain their goal of enslaving the world. Our attitude toward war is first, we oppose it, and second, we are not afraid of it. Should imperialism and revisionism arbitrarily impose war on us, we would follow Chairman Mao's teaching: "We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack. If they insist on fighting, we will keep them company and fight to the finish, and together with the people of the whole world, we will send the whole pack of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries to their graves.

Nuclear weapons are weapons for mass slaughter, but they cannot decide the issue of the war. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength in not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people." Vice Chairman Lin Piao said: "What is the best weapon? It is not the aeroplane, the heavy gun, the tank or the atomic weapon. The best weapon is Mao Tsetung thought. What is the greatest fighting power? The greatest fighting power is found in people armed with Mao Tsetung thought who are brave and are not afraid of death." We have not only the material atomic bomb but also the spiritual atomic bomb which is not available to the enemy.

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
Springfield, Va. 22151

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

LIBRARY RATE
PRINTED MATTER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE